

# THE PAKISTAN TIMES

## US, Pakistan to work for non-aligned Afghan govt.

WASHINGTON — Pakistan and the United States have reaffirmed their continued support to the struggle for self-determination of the Afghan Mujahideen and encourage a political solution that would lead to setting up of a non-aligned representative government in Afghanistan, a Pakistani spokesman said here.

Briefing newsmen on Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's talks with President George Bush on Tuesday, the spokesman said both countries had decided to work together and co-ordinate their approach through mutual consultation on this issue.

He said the American military support to Afghan Mujahideen would continue as far as necessary till its objectives were realised.

The spokesman said both United States and Pakistan want political settlement, because military solution was not possible. But a military pressure may be necessary to prompt political solution, he added.

He said Pakistan and the United States were in full agreement that Najibullah must go, but did not want to impose any body else on the Afghan people.

He said Pakistan had no favourites. Zahir Shah was also not a favourite option for both United States and Pakistan. But if the Afghan people want him, it would be a different matter, he added.

The spokesman said according to the US and Pakistani intelligence reports, the Afghan Mujahideen were doing well.

Asked if there was any divergence in US, and Pakistani approach to the Afghan issue, the spokesman replied: "there is none."

On the question of recognition of the Afghan interim government by the United States, the spokesman said the United States had certain standards for recognition and would recognise when these were met.

Asked whether Pakistan also stressed on these standards, the spokesman said its position was "almost" the same. But, he said, Pakistan's support to the Afghan Mujahideen could not be doubted.

He said Pakistan felt that the interim government needed to be broadbased and that it should reflect support of commanders and Iran-based Afghan Mujahideen groups.

The spokesman said Pakistan and United States proposed to continue consultations on future set up in Afghanistan, but had no fixed position on this issue.

Asked if the UN role in shaping future political structure in Afghanistan was discussed during the talks, the spokesman said all options were discussed during meeting with secretary of State James Baker.

## Soviet POWs' mothers to visit Pakistan soon

ISLAMABAD — Several mothers of the Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan will shortly visit Pakistan to secure release of the prisoners from Mujahideen, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

No date for the visit has been set so far, but it can take place in late June or early July, he said.

The spokesman said the prisoners are being kept by the Mujahideen over the Afghan territory. But, he said, this is a humanitarian problem in which Pakistan has always assisted so that the Soviets can be freed by the Mujahideen.

He also said talks between officials of the Soviet Embassy in

Islamabad and two representatives of the Mujahideen were held here on Tuesday. They discussed release of the Soviet war prisoners in Afghanistan. This was the third meeting for this purpose. The discussions are likely to continue on the subject at a future date.

A correspondent drew the spokesman's attention to a statement reportedly issued by Zimbabwe and India suggesting that the Najibullah regime in Kabul should be given a role in the future political settlement of Afghanistan. The spokesman said "each country has a right to its own opinion." — APP

6/8



Searching for sons — Adas Semenova, left, and Anna Gorbunova, mothers of Soviet soldiers missing in Afghanistan, talk to media in Islamabad, Pakistan. (Photo: LAT 6/19)

## Teheran forbids Wakil to attend Khomeini's funeral

KABUL — Iran has probably forbidden the Afghan Foreign Minister Mr. Abdul Wakil from participating in the funeral of Ayatullah Khomeini. He had to leave for Teheran on Tuesday, but it was announced later that he could not catch any flight for carrying him to Teheran.

BBC reports that the departure of the Afghan Foreign Minister Mr. Wakil for participation in the funeral of Ayatullah Khomeini was postponed at the last moment on Tuesday morning. The Foreign Ministry here said no flight was available to carry him and a Government delegation might be sent to Teheran, but an Iranian Embassy's official told a western diplomat that Iran has made it clear that the visit of any Afghan Minister will not be appropriate at this stage.

The Afghan Government has sent a condolence message to President Khamenei. In the city here, several hundred Shias, most of whom were in black dress, marched on the roads to express

their grief and sorrow.

Observers say that they would have been greatly surprised if the Iranian Government have agreed over the presence of any Afghan official.

Relations between Iran and Russia improved over the past months and the Soviet Envoy Mr. Yuli Vorontsov had visited Iran several times.

This situation lends credibility to speculations that an agreement might be concluded between the Iran-based Shia groups and the Kabul Government. On the other hand, the Iranian Government's strong dislike towards the Kabul regime continues BBC report adds.

It is highly unlikely that the Iranian Government which is already passing through a transitional period due to the death of Ayatullah Khomeini will take such a big step which may indicate a change in her policy towards Afghanistan, the report concludes. — PPI.

6/8

## Pakistan asks U.N. for more UNGOMAP posts

UNITED NATIONS, May 11 — Pakistan has formally asked the United Nations to send up additional posts in Afghanistan to monitor massive supplies of Soviet arms to the embattled Kabul regime in violation of the Geneva agreements.

The request was conveyed to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar by ambassador S. Shahinawaz during a 30-minute meeting with the U.N. chief last evening.

Pakistan wants UNGOMAP (The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan) posts in Hairatan and Torgundi towns bordering the Soviet Union and at the airports of Kabul, Bagram, Shindad and Kandahar to monitor Soviet

compliance with the Geneva Accords.

The demand was first made in the Security Council on April 26 when ambassador S. Shahinawaz accused the Soviet Union of violating the agreement by continuing to supply sophisticated weapons to the Kabul regime, including Scud missiles, which have been fired at Pakistan.

He said that the Soviet arms supply to the Kabul regime was preventing an early and peaceful transfer of power to a broadly acceptable interim government.

U.N. officials said that Perez de Cuellar is considering the Pakistani proposal.

Earlier, Pakistan had agreed to UNGOMAP presence in Chaman, Parachinar and Torkham in addition to the outposts at Quetta and Peshawar.

May 12, 1989

# Correcting the Afghan 'error'

Aziz Siddiqui

THE GREAT harm of the kind of Opposition we have is that the vital role an opposition ought to play in influencing and honing current official policies is largely going by default. For all constructive, democratic purposes what we have is a non-Opposition. This is nowhere more striking than in foreign policy where even if it is not possible yet to develop a bipartisan approach, it should have been normal to talk within a common framework of objectives and intentions and to debate only the alternatives of approaches and styles. What the Opposition is doing, in contrast, is that it is devoting its time to questioning the very objectives and intentions so that it has in practice made itself unavailable to the government, the nation's executive authority of the time.

The leaders of the Opposition often have no greater enlightenment to offer to the government or the people than making such public accusations as that Islamabad is supplying its intelligence reports to New Delhi; that the change in ISI is meant to please Kabul; that a deal has been struck with Moscow over Zahir Shah; that some sinister links are being built with Tel Aviv via agents in Washington. Who will take such people seriously — even in their rare moments of lucidity?

Which is a pity, since there are issues that could do with informed debate across the spectrum of honest opinion. The Prime Minister said in Ankara the other day, for instance, that 'symbols of Soviet rule continue in Kabul. The refusal of these symbols (to go) ... is leading to the further agony of Afghanistan'. People have talked until now of Soviet occupation and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; Soviet rule is a new contribution. But that apart, the question is how is those symbols going to come about?

Continuation of warfare is obviously making that more rather than less difficult to happen. It is stifening resistance. Sahabzada Yaqub has said that Dr. Najib should read the writing on the wall and just hand over

power and go. In practice it doesn't happen that way. If it did the issue would have been resolved a long time ago. Even those who are doomed in the longer run, when continuing to be pressed do their damndest to stick around for as much of that longer run as possible.

Conflicts are resolved either by arms or direct or indirect negotiations or a mix of the two. An exclusive dependence on the first condemns the conclusion too to be determined by the outcome on the battlefield, mostly regardless of the merits, as the Palestinians, for one, have lately found out. Unfortunately, the Afghanistan issue has so far shut out the other options on itself. This was based on the calculation that once the Soviets withdrew it would be a literal walkover; the other side, cleared of its props, would need the barest of shoves to collapse. That was the reason why when the Soviets first proposed that an interim arrangement should be agreed in advance of their pull out the regime here said that that was none of their concern; they should just clear out — a position which Ms. Bhutto now realises was an error.

The error can hardly now be corrected by asking the 'symbols of Soviet rule' to be nice and dissolve themselves voluntarily. It seems elementary that the correction can be given its best chance only by a recreation and reinvolvement of some of the same kind of circumstances and auspices in which the error had occurred and could have been avoided in the first instance. It will be remembered that at that time a regular series of proximity talks were going on and a neutral mediator on behalf of the UN Secretary General was involved. Some similar exchange may have to be re-established, with the inclusion this time of the mujahideen. The need is not the going away of just one man, Najibullah, and dismantling of some other symbols, whatever they are. What is on agenda is a whole nation's transition from a

decade of war to enduring peace, from its being bloodily divided against itself to its firmly resolving on honest reconciliation. No less.

It can be pious to say that Afghans should be left to resolve their affairs themselves. So they should. But practical sense is that those who had been involved on their behalf in one way or another through war and the unfinished process of peace have also a responsibility now to guide them towards a sensible practicable resolution.

The present challenge is to veer the crisis from the quest for a military solution to a political one, or at least to create a concurrent opening in the latter direction. A political solution does not necessarily mean a sellout, a compromise on essentials. It means trying through a configuration of all the concerned forces to reach much the same honest conclusion as sought through war, but less messily and more dependably and enduringly. It means each side being persuaded to recognise the irreducible minimum of the other and together their finding an accommodation for all their essentials.

As causes of war go, the gap between the warring sides in Afghanistan has been perceptibly narrowed — for those willing to perceive. Both agree on Afghan self-determination and an early general election to that end. Secondly, the mujahideen refuse to have anything to do with Dr. Najib but are willing to consort with 'good Muslims' on the other side. And Najib himself has given repeated hints that he would be ready to step down in the interest of peace and reconciliation.

This is enough of a kernel to begin to build around; certainly enough to make bloodletting seem without a point. Even in the event of an outright mujahideen victory the situation in the country can only eventually stabilise, when it will, on achieving some kind of an equilibrium among contending forces. Why shouldn't the Afghans be helped to strive for that balance

now, finessing the uncertainties, feuding and bloodshed of in between?

The Prime Minister is said to be intending to assume greater control of the conduct of Afghan policy. The change in ISI may also be an indication of that. There may not be much room for shifts on the essentials but the fact of political stewardship itself will hopefully induce flexibility in the means.

One of the things that need to be done to advance the political process is to allow the facts on the ground to come through. There is no longer any doubt that in the propaganda war there has been disinformation on both sides, and some critical miscalculation too. Sahabzada Yaqub's explaining the victory's delay on the Jalalabad trail with arguments about new Soviet arms supplies and the mujahideen's lack of experience in open warfare may be valid, but that these were not taken into account in the first place is not. It has led to the present situation.

No harm will really be done to the cause even now by acknowledging the state of the warfare, the strength, the standing and the measure of support for the rival leadership and the problems of disunity. This is in fact important both for the sake of those who want the jihad to go on to the last Afghan, and those who canvassing an alternative course may later come to be pilloried for betraying the holy cause.

A policy of candour will also rescue the issue from remaining the stuff some besotted dreams are made on, and the fate of the Afghans from being a source of poisonous politics. It will certainly induce a clearer assessment of realities and help in adoption of newer approaches to ending the crisis.

In the foreign policy debate this month Sahabzada Yaqub described the Senators' demand for Pakistan's recognition of the interim Afghan government as immature. The immaturity sadly is wide ranging and on the Afghan issue it is as striking as on any other.

5/29

## Commanders favour united attack on Kandahar

FROM OUR  
PESHAWAR BUREAU

MAY 11: Mujahideen commanders in Kandahar supported a proposal for a united command made recently by the defence and interior ministries of the interim government of Mujahideen.

In a recent trip to Kandahar, interim government Defence Minister Mr. Nabi Mohammad and Interior Minister Maulvi Yunus Khalis won support for a

united attack on the Kabul regime from commanders in Kandahar.

In a meeting in Panjwai district attended by commanders from the seven Peshawar-based parties, problems and shortages of arms and ammunition were raised and discussed, said Sayed Hussain Mojaaddi, member of executive council of Hezb-e-Islami (Khalis) who accompanied the two leaders. The Defence Minister said both the issues would be studied and resolved during the coming weeks.

## Afghan cameraman hurt in mine blast in Nangarhar

Afghan Media Resource Centre cameraman, Aminullah, 25, was seriously injured when their truck detonated a landmine planted by

Eng. Ahmad Shah who had a meeting with the front commanders of Jalalabad battle last night said that the regime has approached the Mujahideen and asked for safe passage if they vacate the city.

May 12, 1989

departing regime troops in Chaprehar sub-district. Four Mujahideen of Hezb-e-Islami (Khalis) were also wounded in the incident at 9 p.m.

Aminullah was going to Surkhrod to film the Mujahideen operations on the Kabul-Jalalabad Highway. Both legs of the cleaner were blown apart while one of the Mujahideen had lost his right leg. The wounded were taken to an international Red Cross hospital in Peshawar the same night.

Two months ago Aminullah was wounded by shrapnel near Jalalabad where he was filming the battle along with another Afghan photographer.

6/8

# Afghan Pilots Say They've Taken Sting Out of Stinger

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—The sophisticated, U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft missile, which helped Islamic rebels neutralize Soviet air power in Afghanistan, has itself been largely rendered useless in recent months by special flying techniques, according to Afghan air force pilots and independent military analysts.

"In the course of the many years of the war, we have found some flaws and shortcomings in this Stinger missile, and we are now taking advantage of them," said Maj. Ramatullah, a 14-year air force veteran, during a rare press conference here Monday.

The pilot, who conceded that the Stinger is "the most powerful weapon they (the rebels) have," refused to describe the evasive techniques. But military experts in Pakistan, which along with the United States is supporting the *mujahideen*, and American journalists who recently accompanied rebel groups armed with the Stingers confirmed that the shoulder-fired missiles are now playing little or no role in the war.

## Diving Technique

A military analyst at Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies said recently that Afghan pilots are successfully evading the missiles by diving from altitudes below the Stinger's range, then bombing and strafing rebel positions below levels for which the missile has been programmed.

Journalists covering the stalemate battle for the strategic eastern city of Jalalabad, the main theater for the war at present, have confirmed that they have seen rebels fall to fire Stingers at diving fighter jets because the computerized weapon is unable to track them.

Several analysts in Pakistan have cited the Stinger's ineffectiveness in explaining the *mujahideen's* floundering, two-month-old effort to take Jalalabad, Afghanistan's second-largest city and the only major city between the Pakistani border and the Afghan capital of Kabul.

The rebels also are hampered by the fact that they are a guerrilla force now fighting a conventional

battle to take a city, rather than simply harassing government convoys and military outposts, the analyst said.

## Action by Congress

The same analysts had earlier credited the Stingers with helping to shift the balance against the powerful Soviet army and air force, after the U.S. Congress agreed to send the high-technology weapons to the *mujahideen* in 1986.

When the rebels began using the Stingers, Soviet jets were forced to bomb from higher altitudes, which contributed to the destruction of civilian villages and the alienation of the Afghan people. Scores of Soviet helicopters were also shot down.

But the decision to give the Stingers to the rebels, many of whom are fundamentalist Muslims opposed to U.S. policy elsewhere in the world, was controversial, and several missiles found their way across Afghanistan to Iran, which reportedly fired one at a U.S. helicopter over the Persian Gulf. Earlier this year, several U.S. congressmen proposed that the United States try to buy the missiles back from the Afghan rebels when the war is over, an idea several rebel commanders said is ridiculous.

The five pilots who appeared at Monday's press conference cited the Iran incident. Describing the rebel force as "undisciplined, hitting like the blind man's cane," Maj. Jalilani said, "These are people who took the Stinger from Peshawar, walked it across the width of Afghanistan and sold it to Iran, which used it against an American aircraft."

The pilots' press conference, the first since the war began, ostensibly was called in an effort to disprove Pakistani claims that Soviet pilots, assisted by the Indian air force, are still flying bombing sorties in the war. Such aid is prohibited under terms of last year's accords that governed the withdrawal of Soviet troops by last Feb. 15.

One of the pilots said Monday that such allegations "make us feel defamed."

LAT 5/2

## Measles kills half of children in Ghore

Jam'i al commander in Taiwara district, Ghore province, said that half of the children of that district died of measles, whooping-cough and bronchitis last winter.

Abdul Baqi said that in the two districts of Taiwara and Pesawand there is only one health clinic with limited amount of medicine and insufficient equipment.

He added that the poor economic conditions of the people and harsh winter contributes increased sickness among the children.

He said that in 1983, 60% of all the children in the district died of measles, whooping-cough and bronchitis.

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## Uneasy Partners

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of foreigners arriving in Afghanistan to fight, not so much for the liberation of Afghanistan as for the spread of Islam. An estimated 2,000 non-Afghans are now believed to be battling alongside local guerrillas. Some come from Indonesia, the Philippines and northern Africa, but the great majority are from the heartlands of Islam: Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Egypt, the Sudan and Palestine.

The Arab *mujahideen* in particular form a spearhead that is now being thrust into the forefront of rebel politics. Known as "Wahhabis" for their adherence to the teachings of 18th-Century Muslim reformer Mohamed Abdul Wahhab, they are pledged to a strictly literal reading of Islam. A highly disciplined force, the Wahhabis are implacably anti-Western: even Red Cross installations have been criticised as emblematic of Christian influence. "We are fighting to raise the banner of Islam," says one young Arab guerrilla. "I didn't come here to see the banner of the Red Cross." At least one Western journalist has been beaten up by Arabs.

Predictably, the Arabs have gravitated to the more fundamentalist factions of the Afghan *mujahideen*. Many have teamed up with the Hizbi-Islami (Islamic Party) faction of Yunus Khalis, which has strong links with Saudi Arabia. Others have joined the Ittehad-e-Islami (Islamic Unity) group-

ing of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, prime minister of the *mujahideen* interim government. A small but powerful faction, Sayyaf's Ittehad has expanded rapidly on Arab funding. Arab money also supports the Ahl al-Hadith (Followers of the Prophet's Traditions), a Wahhabi group that has muscled into prominence in Kunar Province and around Jalalabad.

But the foreigners may be overstaying their welcome. Even the more fundamentalist Afghan parties have been disquieted by their growing numbers and disregard for local customs. Particularly galling has been the Arabs' disdain for the Sufi mysticism ingrained in Afghan religious belief. "Their ways contradict the beliefs of most Afghans," notes one *mujahideen* political officer. "This could lead to violent confrontations." Observes a diplomat who closely monitors the war: "The Afghans are going to react to the Arabs as they would to anyone else."

The Arabs have themselves taken casualties in the fighting around Jalalabad, but their military contribution has been less than decisive. "They don't make any difference to the outcome of a battle," shrugs one Afghan commander. "Militarily, they're just a nuisance." The volatile brew, thus, simmers angrily, but for the moment Afghan and foreign *mujahideen* alike have more immediate battles to fight.

AFMAWEEK, APRIL 28, 1989

## VISAS FOR AFGHANS

Section 3 of the Immigration Amendments of 1988 provides 10,000 visas for each of fiscal years 1990-91, outside the annual 270,000 worldwide limitation of the INA for "under-represented countries." Applications for the OP-1 (Berman Immigrant Visa Program) were accepted from 3/1-31/89 and a random selection was made by computer from among the mail received. 70 Afghans won visas.

"If I'd had a subscription to the Afghanistan Forum, I wouldn't have gotten into this mess."



Afghanistan Info no 24, avril 1989



Black Star/Christopher Morris

Afghan rebel commanders meeting in February in Pakistan, where they formed a government in exile. The show of unity did not conceal their differences.

# Afghanistan, by Custom, Has Rebels Everywhere

By JOHN KIFNER

**L**AND of the unruly — Yaghistan — was what the first modern ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, called his country at the turn of the century. By another translation it means "land of rebels."

The new discussions of who is going to win the battle for Afghanistan may miss this central truth about the country. Whoever wins on the battlefield will have great difficulty setting up an effective government. It is a lesson that seemed clear as Soviet troops withdrew earlier this year, but lately it has been overshadowed by the current siege of Jalalabad, now in its third month, as it was by premature expectations that the Communist Government of President Najibullah might be quickly driven from power.

With the Soviets gone, Afghans are fighting Afghans, with mounting casualties and the battle for Jalalabad intensifying as the Moslem hold-days ended last week.

Should the rebels win and go on to take Kabul, to expect them to form a strong central Government would be to contradict much of the country's history, which is largely one of constant rebellion of countryside against capital, and a fierce struggle of tribe against tribe.

And should President Najibullah's forces prevail, his chances for success in organizing a coalition government seem equally thin. His own participation would seem unlikely, given the hatred the rebels feel toward him.

So if past patterns are any guide, perhaps the one thing that can be said with any assurance about the future is that there will have to be some sort of eventual accommodation between local

guerrilla groups and Afghan Government troops, more than likely with a weak central government in Kabul and warlords controlling individual chunks of territory elsewhere.

Steeped in a warrior culture and united only by Islam, the Afghans have a long history of battle against foreign invaders and, when there were none to drive out, against each other. In addition, the 20th century has been a time in which to defend localism and tradition against Government-enforced modernity. The current revolt began in essence as such a fight by disparate groups and turned into a national cause only with the introduction of Soviet troops in 1979.

How, then, might the rebels form a government? If there is an answer, it may be found in the mosaic of Afghan society, particularly its tribal structure, that has produced both the Government of President Najibullah and the rebels.

A little over half Afghanistan's population is Pushtun, located mainly in the south and east and divided into two great tribal confederations, the Durrani and the Ghilzai. Tajik, Uzbek, Turkoman and Shiite Moslems called Hazara, popularly believed to be descendants of Genghis Khan, are the major ethnic minorities.

For all these groups modernization has long been a critical issue. In 1928, King Amanullah was determined to follow in the footsteps of the father of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk. He announced immediate reforms including the abolishing of the veil for women; within months the countryside was in revolt.

Ultimately, another King, Nadir Shah, took the throne and abolished the reforms. His son, in turn, began a cautious new campaign of reform in the 1960's that included the introduction of a Constitution and a Parliament. He was deposed by his cousin, brother-in-law, and sometime Prime Minister, Mohammed Daoud Khan, who

## Afghani Drops

**KABUL, Afghanistan** (Reuters) — Afghanistan's currency tumbled Thursday to its lowest level against the U.S. dollar in a downward spiral unprecedented in the history of the Afghani, the Afghan unit of currency. The U.S. dollar fetched 325 Afghanis on Kabul's unofficial but key money market. Dealers attributed the fall mainly to a blockade of roads from neighboring Pakistan, where most foreign currency reaching the Afghan capital originates. They also blamed declining exports and galloping inflation caused by the 10-year war between the pro-Soviet government and the U.S.-backed Mujahideen guerrillas.

Durham Morning Herald 5/19

proclaimed a republic in 1973 but was shot dead in a Communist coup five years later. For the first time in more than 200 years Afghanistan came under the rule of Ghilzai Pushtuns rather than Durrani Pushtuns.

## New Groups, Old Divisions

The stress of modernization in the late 1960's and 70's had produced radicalism, both secular and religious. At Kabul University, Marxists including a husky medical student named Najibullah battled Islamic fundamentalists, among them an engineering student named Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who had been deeply influenced by the radical doctrines of Egypt's Moslem Brotherhood. But even among these modern groups, the old divisions asserted themselves.

A failed 1975 uprising had sent many of the fundamentalists, including Hekmatyar, to exile in Peshawar, where they were adopted by Pakistani military intelligence. President Carter began sending aid to the rebels soon after the Soviet troops swept in, and the patterns set then helped determine at least the superficial appearance of how the rebels are organized today. The seven Mujahadeen parties based here were essentially created in order to receive and make use of the money and arms sent by Washington, which are dispersed by Pakistani intelligence.

The bankrollers, Pakistani and American, have repeatedly insisted on an appearance of unity among the parties — the latest result being the "interim government" that was declared earlier this year. But there is little indication that this government really represents the hundreds of local groups fighting throughout Afghanistan.

All the official parties, including that of Hekmatyar, are primarily Pushtun, except for that of Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, which is largely Tajik and therefore unlikely to assume real power. Of all the groups, Hekmatyar's is most favored by the Pakistani intelligence, but his radical Islamic ideology and tight Leninist-style party organization are alien to Afghan traditions. He appears to have little popular base.

"These parties have no supporters, they have only followers," said Naim Majrooh, director of the Afghan Information Center here. "The followers are there because of the arms and supplies. The Afghan people were in need of arms, so they went to whoever would provide. Ideas were not important at that time."

NYT 5/14

# Combat Threatens Afghan Nomads' Ancient Ways

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—Faiz Gul stared up at the sky, his black eyes following the Soviet transport plane as it spewed flames that fell onto the shabby tents around him. Gul rubbed his dusty black beard, shook his head and spoke with sadness about the fate of one of the world's most ancient and endangered peoples.

"From generation to generation," he said, "we were told, 'This is your place, your land. No one can take it from you.' But there have been many losses for my people since the beginning of this war. Now, all of life is war. And we cannot go anywhere anymore."

Gul is a *khan*, or tribal chief, of the Kochis, an ancient and nomadic clan of Afghans who have been a constant image on the country's horizon, an important thread in its social and economic fabric.

The Kochis, shepherds whose pasturelands have become battlegrounds, are being killed off by the thousands, blown up by mines, rocketed, shelled and bombed. The routes of their wandering, which date back centuries, have been radically altered by the war.

Gul's clan has been severely diminished. Hundreds of its families have been killed, with others scattered to refugee camps. Today they number scarcely a third of what they were a decade ago.

For at least seven generations before him, Faiz Gul's forbears led the people of his clan, together with their sheep and camels, through the rugged mountains. Now they sit in tents near the end of the runway at Kabul's international airport, watching their grazing land shrink as the cemetery expands, and they worry about their future.

## 'A Holistic Change'

Anthropologist Jalal Khan Hekmaty, a Columbia University graduate and authority on the Kochis at the Afghan government's Academy of Sciences, told a visitor:

"The problem facing the Kochis is the same problem facing the whole of our society because of this war. Our whole society is changing, and it is not just a partial change. It is a holistic change. And we cannot go back to the old ways."

Indeed, 10 years of war have brought radical change to Afghanistan. More than a million people have been killed and thousands of villages flattened. And the Pushtun *wali*, the ancient Pushtun language code of conduct that governs virtually every aspect of Afghan life, has been changed along with everything else.

According to Hekmaty, tribal nomads have practiced the purest form of Pushtun law; thus they provide a dramatic illustration of the changes wrought by the war.

The Kochis, she said, "have been very hard struck by this bloody, senseless war." And she added:

"A United Nations survey published in 1968 stated that there were 2.5 million Kochis in Afghanistan. Now it is very difficult to say. No one knows how many have been killed. No one knows how many have given up the life and settled somewhere. In these 10 years of war, we have not been able to reach the Kochis very well."

## Torn From Land

Nor have the Kochis been able to reach very well the thing they hold most sacred—the land, which they would never dream of owning yet cannot live without.

"There have been many wars on this land," Gul said, referring to wars of long ago, "but those were wars between nations. Now it is a war between nations, between brothers. And that affects the land. It has changed the land."

Gul and his clan—the Arab clan, it is called—have lived those changes at first hand, and their ragged tent city, set up two weeks ago when the clan arrived from Jalalabad on their traditional summer migration, is crowded with images of the war's impact.

In the past, their tents were pitched in the Shakardarah Valley, a vast flatland north of Kabul that could accommodate the entire clan. But now there is fighting every day in the Shakardarah Valley, and the clan is forced to split up into small groups. Some are in Kabul, and this is said to be the first time any Kochis have ever stayed in a city.

And there are the mines, which continue to kill shepherds as well as sheep. Gul's 20-year-old son, Aqa, lost his left leg to a mine.

Hekmaty said the mines are "one of my worst fears." The nomads, she said, "will find it extremely difficult if not impossible to go back to their grazing lands with all these mines."

As Aqa Gul can testify, the nomads have been using their principal asset—their sheep—to clear the mine fields.

And there are the artillery shells and rockets and bombs, all of which have taken a heavy toll among the Kochis.

"We are out in the open," Faiz Gul said, "and we are in the middle of this war."

On occasion, as on the clan's recent migration from Jalalabad to Kabul, the Kochis find a way around the war by means of the Pushtun *wali*, which among other things requires that all men obey the command of a *khan*. As Gul's clan left Jalalabad, they were stopped by bombing. "I asked the government commander to stop the bombing so we could cross," Gul said. "He radioed the pilots, and

the bombing stopped."

An uncle of Faiz Gul, a white-bearded octogenarian named Mohammad Sarwar, said the older clansmen are terrified of the modern weapons of war. He remembers wars that were fought with swords and pistols, and he said that "when we hear the voices of these rockets, our blood dries up and we become weak."

"We are very anxious about our future now," he said, "very afraid of what will happen. Only God knows."

Many people fear that because of the odds against them, the Kochis may simply give up and settle down.

## Kochis Adapting

"I certainly would share in this fear of the Kochis finally just giving up," said Hekmaty. "But, as you can see, the Kochis have been adapting themselves, and I think there will be enough Kochis even after the end of these troubles. This is, after all, the only way they know how to live."

Faiz Gul echoed the scientist's conclusion. "We are illiterate people," he said. "We cannot do any other job. We got this job through our inheritance, from generation to generation. And it is a good life. We are not tied down to any place forever."

There are many examples of the Kochis' resilience. When the war began, the pro-Soviet Afghan government tried to draft the Kochis into military service, and some were taken to military barracks, but they escaped. There were negotiations, and President Najibullah exempted them from the draft.

Now and again a foreigner will ask the Kochis why they do not take refuge from the war in the cities, or in the refugee camps, and they will reply, as Faiz Gul did: "What would happen to the sheep?"

As for the future of his people, Gul is pragmatic.

"If the war finishes and peace comes to our country," he said, "our numbers will increase."

He waved a hand toward the undernourished children playing around the tents, and added:

"After all, we have always been Kochi. We are still Kochi. We will always be Kochi. But if the war continues, yes, all of us will be killed eventually."

LAT

May 25, 1989



## Soviet historian admits truth on Afghan coup

MOSCOW: Soviet troops were involved in a coup in Afghanistan before the new leader invited Soviet soldiers to enter that country in 1979, a Soviet historian said in the Government newspaper *Izvestia*.

Historian Y. V. Gankovsky said: "I think the time has come to tell the whole truth, however bitter it is. Abroad, books have been published on the subject. Silence from us only causes rumors and speculation."

Western sources previously have reported that Soviet forces moved into Afghanistan before the invitation issued by leader Babrak Karmal, considered a Soviet puppet.

But this is the first indication in a Soviet publication that the Soviet Union may have engineered that invasion. Speaking of the attack on the President's Palace on December 27, 1979, which killed Hafizullah Amin and led to Mr. Karmal's takeover, Mr. Gankovsky said: "From conversations with our officers, I learned that our unit, which was includ-

ed in the limited Soviet military contingent, also took part in the operation."

"The clash did not take long," Mr. Gankovsky added. "And, with the exception of Amin's personal guards, nobody even made an attempt to defend the regime he headed."

According to Western journalist Jan Goodwin's book, *Caught in the Crossfire*, Mr. Amin had just rejected a Soviet demand that he either resign or make a formal request for Soviet troops to intervene in Afghanistan.

The next day, Mr. Karmal claimed power in a broadcast on Kabul Radio, and asked for Soviet "political, moral, military and economic assistance," a request repeatedly cited by the Soviets as the reason for their intervention.

Goodwin's book says Mr. Karmal was actually in Tashkent in the Soviet Union at the time and the broadcast was made using a prerecorded tape.

Mr. Gankovsky also argued with reported statements by General V. I. Vanenkov that the inter-

vention was necessary to protect the Soviet Union.

"Of course, having a hostile government is in power in a neighboring country could not be satisfying to us. But it did not follow that we had to react to the situation the way we did in 1979," he said.

"Political, diplomatic steps could have been taken," he said.

Mr. Gankovsky also repeated earlier reports that the decision to send troops to Afghanistan was taken by former President Leonid Brezhnev and a handful of others. Former Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has said Mr. Brezhnev's opposition to Mr. Amin was partially motivated by fury over the murder of Mr. Amin's predecessor, Marxist President Nur Mohammed Taraki.

"Taraki's murder has to be taken into account when considering the steps taken by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan," Mr. Gromyko told the London Observer. Mr. Karmal was replaced by General Najibullah in 1986.

# New Problem for Guerrillas: No Russians to Fight

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF KANDAHAR, Afghanistan — "Before, here were Russians, there were Russians, everywhere Russians, so people were busy with the fighting," said Tahir Khan, a young guerrilla commander helping to direct the siege of the ancient royal city of Kandahar. "No question, everybody was against the Russians. But now people are confused."

On the floor of a shattered villa tucked in a mulberry grove in the hills above the city, guerrilla commanders sat cross-legged on the floor, talking of stepping up the nearly year-long siege with attacks on the airfield and, more important, a campaign to cut the highway running east to Pakistan to isolate the city and its Government garrison.

The men in the big, loosely wrapped turbans of the Pathan tribes, talking of guns and transport to be raised, were engaged in a traditional pursuit: raising a lashgar, a war party.

But the war council also illustrated other local traditions, those of rivalries and infighting, which are dramatically changing the character of the Afghan war since the withdrawal of Soviet troops was completed in mid-February.

## 'Difficult for Them to Unite'

"It's a totally different game with the Soviets gone," said a Western diplomat in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, who follows the situation closely. "The Soviet presence was a unity factor. Now that the Soviets are gone, it's difficult for them to unite."

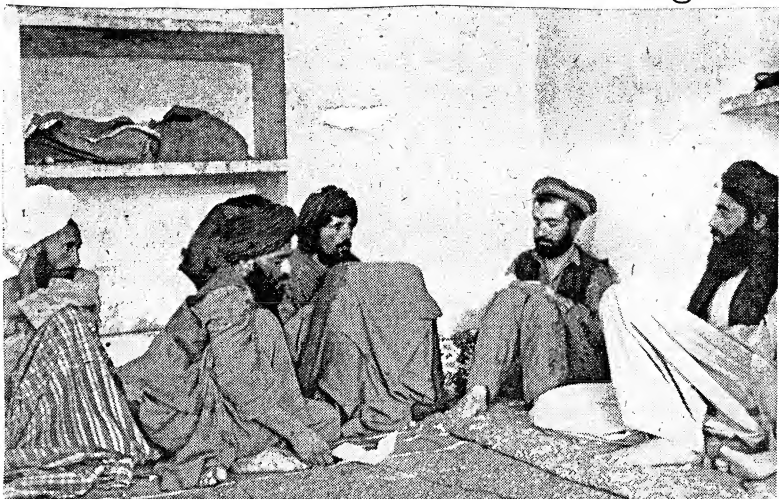
The jihad was on at midnight on Feb. 15, agreed Mushahid Hussain, a prominent Pakistani journalist, using the insurgents' term for what they consider a holy war.

Louis B. Dupree, a leading American scholar of Afghanistan, described the underlying theme of the country's history as "fusion and fission," a recurring process in which the warlike tribes united, usually against a foreign invader, only to dissolve into local battles. The Pathan tribes, he wrote, are "almost genetically expert at guerrilla warfare after centuries of resisting all comers and fighting among themselves when no comers were available."

The interim government formed by the seven Pakistan-based Afghan parties, at the behest of their American and Pakistani sponsors, has yet to command much loyalty.

Splits between traditionalists and radicals are only part of the problem. Shiite Muslims, a significant minority, are left out, and one party chief has reportedly said the next jihad should be against the Shites, whom he regards as infidels. Non-Pathan groups have been largely ignored, as have many field commanders.

The dependence of the insurgents on Pakistani and Saudi aid is an increasingly important issue among a people who despise foreigners, an issue skillfully exploited by President Najibullah's Government. Afghans have been calling in large numbers to Pakistan "dhal-horde," a Persian phrase meaning bean-eaters, for the lentil dish that is the staple of Pakistan's Punjabis.



The New York Times/John Kifner

Afghan guerrilla leaders holding a war council near the besieged city of Kandahar. "No question, everybody was against the Russians," one commander said. "But now people are confused."

## Little Interest in Jalalabad

The crucial battle between guerrillas and the Government at Jalalabad, to the north, holds little interest here because it is in the territory of the other major Pathan tribal confederation, the Ghilzai. President Najibullah is a Ghilzai, from the Zadran tribe in Paktia Province. The 1978 coup brought the Ghilzai, as well as the Communists, to power, ending more than 200 years of rule by members of the Durrani tribal confederation.

"This is not a matter for the Durrani," a knowledgeable Afghan said, speaking of Jalalabad. "It is Ghilzai against Ghilzai."

For weeks, Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, the military agency that channels American-supplied weapons to the guerrillas and thus exerts considerable influence, has been pressing for an all-out assault on Kandahar, Afghan and Western officials say.

But the Kandahar area has been controlled by a commanders' shura, or council, of local leaders from the seven parties based in Peshawar. They had balked at the pressure for the attack, saving civilians in Kandahar, who would suffer the most, had supported the guerrillas at some risk, supplying food and intelligence.

Now this shura has broken down, replaced by a five-party council led by, among others, Mr. Khan, who diplomats say has close relations with Pakistani intelligence. The parties that are left out are regarded as the two most traditionalist, those headed by Ahmed Gailani and Prof. Sibgatullah Mojaddedi, both members of major Muslim religious families who are seen as representatives of the old Durrani order. It was the new group

that met in the bullet-scarred villa to plan the stepped-up campaign.

## Najibullah Sends Money

Meanwhile, the guerrillas say President Najibullah, with some success, has been pouring money into the area to buy off local commanders. Mr. Khan said two former guerrilla commanders had been slain in recent months for going over to the Government, and that there would be further trouble as tribal leaders who had not fought with the insurgents tried to reassert their old authority.

"Already people have been killed," said the 30-year-old commander, whose father was a general under King Zahir Shah, a Durrani deposed in 1973. "This clash has already started."

There is a sense that little changes here but the technology. This could be a stop on the ancient silk route, if one looked away from the big long-haul trucks, gaily decorated with fish and jet fighters labeled F-16. In a guerrilla camp, a teen-ager pounds flour and water into the flat bread called nan and bakes it on a round steel over a fire; in a shed nearby are two Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Commander Khan appealed to tradition to gain support for his plan to cut off Kandahar, bumping for miles in a pickup truck along the shot-up highway to where Mullah Maulvi Parsani, the area's most respected Islamic judge, sat under a tree. Commander Khan was in search of a fatwa, a religious ruling, that would declare it a duty to close the road.

"Now we should close this road and let no one go inside," the sickly, 70-year-old mullah said after hearing the commander's appeal. "We should invite the Muslim people to come out-

side the city, and after that we shall start our fight."

"When the Russians came it was not good," he said. "Everything was done as the Russians said. We will make a good government, an Islamic government. It will be under the Afghan people, not the Russians, the Indians or others."

## THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUNE 6, 1989



The New York Times/June 4, 1989

Afghanistan's main cities remain under the Government's control.



# Kabul Resistance Unites Strangers In Their Loathing for Najibullah

By DONATELLA LORCH

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, April 30 — As night fell, the rigorously Muslim housewife took off the head-to-toe garment that Afghan women wear, exchanging it for the baggy pants and shirt worn by Afghan men. She then tucked her long black hair into a woolen cap and joined companions distributing messages to homes and offices, notes describing the movements and policies of the guerrillas fighting to overthrow the Government.

In another part of Kabul, a clean-shaven young man wearing a leather jacket and khaki pants stood out in a group of bearded men in traditional clothes fingering prayer beads. The young man, a Communist Party member, works for the Soviet-trained Afghan secret service, the Khad. He said he gives all the information he gathers in his job to the guerrillas.

An army general, like the 28-year-old housewife and the young party member, is also a rebel sympathizer. He said he regularly gives the rebels information on troop movements and actively recruits for the underground among his soldiers and his friends.

The rebels say an increasing number of Kabul residents are turning to the underground, although from a series of interviews in the Afghan capital it was clear that they were motivated in varying degrees by conviction and by their desire to survive.

Living in a besieged city facing an uncertain future, with daily rebel rocket attacks and wide food shortages, those three Afghans share little more than a deep hatred for the Afghan President, Najibullah, and their collaboration with a particular guerrilla commander, Abdul Haq, who is a leader of one of the more religiously conservative of the seven guerrilla parties based in Peshawar, Pakistan.

Those three people were among about a dozen guerrilla sympathizers interviewed in Kabul in a recent seven-day trip by this correspondent, who was smuggled into the city by rebel forces. Dressed in traditional Afghan clothes hidden under the folds of a sky-blue burqa — the tent-like garment with a small opening for the eyes — this correspondent went to Kabul in the company of two rebels, one posing as her husband, and then toured the city by bus, by taxi and by foot, talking to members of the city's underground.

Arriving in the city after a sometimes tense journey through rebel and Government checkpoints, the *shin* group found that the people of the capital were apprehensive as Ramadan, the Muslim holy month of fasting, neared its end.

Despite the stalemate in the rebel siege of Jalalabad, an eastern city, people associated with the rebels say attacks on major Afghan cities are likely after the Muslim holidays of *Id al-Fitr*, which mark the end of Ramadan, and the people of Kabul worry that the capital will have no exception.

While three of the seven guerrilla parties based in Peshawar are thought

to have a strong presence in the Kabul underground, Abdul Haq — he never uses his last name, and is always known as Abdul Haq — said that he had infiltrated the Government at all levels. Abdul Haq, a leader of the Hezbi-Islami, or Islamic Party, the rebel faction headed by Yunis Khalis, is described by Western diplomats as one of Afghanistan's strongest guerrilla commanders, with a power base around Kabul as well as in the city. He asserts that his underground included from 5,000 to 10,000 people working either full- or part-time.

## Back to the Veil?

### INDIAN EXPRESS

In a crowded Kabul bazaar, a group of men reportedly bemoaning a fundamentalist guerrilla faction recently attacked two women dressed in skirts and blouses. The incident sent shock waves through Afghanistan's capital. Around the same time, reliable sources reported that two girls had been kidnapped from a school in the heart of the town, stripped, and disfigured.

Such incidents are legion in Afghanistan, but for them to occur in Kabul, with its seemingly Westernized women, has been an eye-opener. Increasingly, people — women in particular — are asking whether they point to things to come.

The more emancipated Afghan women claim that these are just stray cases. "Women have gained too much to be able to give it all up without a struggle," insists Masuma Asmat Wardak, president of the Afghan Women's Council

of one of them is the secret police officer, a man who said he trusted no one. Originally in the army, he said he joined the secret police because of higher pay, and received a job that brings him information as varied as President Najibullah's whereabouts, the contents of police meetings, the particulars of drug arrests and the results of prisoner interrogations.

"I know a party member, a man very close to Najib, who will sell any information for money," he said. "But this life I am leading, this is not life. I believe in the mujahadeen's side because I want my freedom. I want to be able to say this is my country and I am proud of it."

The secret policeman, like the other Kabul underground members, he had never met Abdul Haq but had heard his interviews on the BBC.

"I believe he is a liberal and a good commander, so I asked myself how it is possible to get acquainted with him?" the young man said.

"I am a party member. As a whole, we hate Najib. But now the regime is stressing that the mujahadeen will kill us automatically. I am as good a Muslim as any mujahid. Abdul Haq is the only one who encourages even party members to join."

The underground consists of a loose network of independent cells. Only the commanders — Abdul Haq has five commanders that work inside the city — know the full extent of the operations, which they created from personal connections.

One of the commanders, Sayed Hamed Jaglan, a 36-year-old former Afghan Army major, (Jaglan means major) was the man who smuggled this correspondent into Kabul.

The Kabul leg of the Afghan trip began with Major Sayed Hamed's men Denau, a small village on the paved road some 25 miles southwest of the capital. The village, which has been bombed regularly in the last month, is nearly deserted. But during the day the

(AWC). Says Najiba Hakimi, a school teacher: "Afghan women want to be good Moslems, good Afghans, and good mothers at the same time. They are in the process of discovering that the three are not mutually exclusive, as the fundamentalists would have us believe."

The [communist-led] regime has done more than any other to improve the status of women. For the first time, the 1987 constitution explicitly gave equal rights to women. Opportunities for women are now unprecedented, including educational facilities, vocational training, and job prospects.

Not that effort was lacking earlier. But most efforts at reform were tentative, recognizing that change would have to be accomplished within the religious framework. For example, the Marriage Law of 1971 fixed the minimum age of marriage at 18 but did not touch the sensitive subject of polygamy. A vast gap exists between legal precept and practice. On the surface, the mid-

dle-class urban woman may appear highly Westernized in her short skirts, manicured nails, and coiffed hair. But scratch the surface, and the creature of 50 years ago emerges.

Will Afghan women continue to grow, helped along by a supportive government, or will they revert to the *chador* (the traditional head covering) should conservatives be established in Kabul? Odds are that they will go back if they have to. As far as attitudes go, they are still tradition-bound. Women still defer to father, husband, or son, as they have done for centuries.

Take the case of Roxana, an attractive 26-year-old. She is dressed in the latest Western mode, heavily made up, hair perfectly styled. But Roxana's life reflects the traditional constraints. Her father, she tells me, took a second wife because the first, Roxana's mother, was deaf. After the death of both women, the domestic burden fell on Roxana, who, beginning when she was 11, would cook, clean, and wash for the family while also going to school and then the university. Today she works in a publishing house and has no intention of marrying.

Roxana lives in a rambling old house along with her father and married brother. "I am not embittered by my mother's lot," she insists. "Women have been psychologically conditioned to accept co-wives." But, she adds, "I personally couldn't accept it." Roxana is among the many women in their late 20s who have found that most eligible men have either emigrated or are fighting the civil war.

According to a recent AWC survey, there are 22,000 women teachers, 400 skilled women workers, 300 women nurses, 300 women doctors, and 700 women engineers in Afghanistan. In 1973 there were only 450 working women in all of Afghanistan. And the portent for the future is good, given present statistics. According to an AWC survey, there are 7,133 women in institutions of higher education and 233,000 girls studying in schools. If they are allowed to continue, they will change the shape of things to come. ■

By Radha Rastogi, from the independent *Indian Express* of New Delhi.

## Afghanistan Lifted the Veil Decades Ago

To the Editor:

"Dressed in traditional Afghan clothes hidden under the folds of a sky-blue burqa — the tentlike garment with a small opening for the eyes — this correspondent went to Kabul in the company of two rebels, one posing as her husband, and then toured the city by bus, by taxi and by foot, talking to members of the city's underground" (front page, May 7).

Your correspondent was quite right to wear the traditional lampshade-like street garment of Afghan women. Afghans have long known the advantages of being unrecognizable. History has instances of men donning the traditional women's garment when going against the authorities.

But she does a disservice to her mujahadeen protectors with the impression that this is the official costume of an Afghan woman. For the Soviets and the Afghan regime that they still maintain despite their publi-

cized military pullout, it is important, to frighten the West with the impression that a mujahadeen victory would mean a return to compulsory veiling of women.

Some Western correspondents, unfamiliar with the Afghanistan of preinvasion days, believe the Soviet claim to have removed the restriction on a view of a female face. Veiling was made optional in 1953, and the number of traditional women's garments on the streets of Kabul diminished steadily until the Soviet invasion. No doubt, more are visible today than ever, and the Soviet machinations are responsible for that.

Anonymity can be desirable, and the tentlike garment is the next thing to the legendary cloak of invisibility. There may even be men under some of them.

REHA TALLEY STEWART  
Manchester, Conn., May 7, 1989

The writer is author of "Fire in Afghanistan" (New York, 1973).

collection of bombed-out shells of mud houses populated by stray dogs becomes a thriving bus stand, where the guerrillas leave their pickup trucks to board the rickety buses for Kabul, and refugees leaving the capital switch to the Mercedes minibuses that will take them to Pakistan.

The bus from Denau to Kabul was stopped every couple of miles at rebel checkpoints, where armed men checked all baggage and interrogated the men. The women in the bus, all in burqas, talked nonstop, arguing with the driver and the young guerrillas who poked at their bags.

#### Searches and Interrogations

After a no man's land of several miles, the bus reached the Government's first checkpoint, about 10 miles from Kabul. It is a lonely mud hut in which two uniformed men about 18 years old with Kalashnikov rifles are stationed; an Afghan flag fluttered in the wind.

At the second Government checkpoint, a clean-shaven young soldier found a gun and some heroin hidden in a burqa sack on the roof of the bus. All the men on the bus, including the two guerrillas accompanying this correspondent, were taken off the bus, questioned and searched.

After two hours, a young woman in a khaki uniform boarded the bus, making the women pull back their burqas, searching them and demanding their destinations.

In Persian, the woman in uniform asked this correspondent her destination.

Receiving the answer "Kabul," the woman shot a sharp look, then moved on.

After clearing the checkpoint, the guerrilla group switched to a yellow-and-white Kabul taxi and drove the remaining few miles into the city. Security was tight as the Government prepared for the celebration of the 11th anniversary of the People's Republic, on April 27. There were extra roadblocks and military patrols as well as house-to-house searches.

The trip was originally scheduled to last three days but the Government, worried about rebel attacks during the celebration, closed all roads leading out of the city for two days, and the Kabul stay grew longer. Worried about dawn searches, the guerrilla guides, both of whom have jobs in the city, switched this correspondent to a different "safe" house every night.

The streets were decked in the black, red and green stripes of the Afghan flag and were heavily patrolled by the police and the police. The bazaars were crowded, with long lines for bread, cooking oil and gasoline. Women in faded and torn burqas shoved to get flour and men squatted on the curb waiting to fill their plastic jerrycans with gas or diesel.

Major Sayed Hamed, who has been working for Abdul Haq for over six years, is a Kabul native with strong contacts in the military. He said he had about 350 people in his Kabul underground cell, a small part of the Abdul Haq network.

Most of the work is fairly routine: Government employees, party members, military officers, teachers, students, businessmen, refugees and others gather information, recruit and distribute rebel communications throughout the city warning of rocket attacks, denouncing the Government and urging all citizens to work with the guerrillas.

#### Rebel Safe-Passage Badges

Perhaps the underground's toughest challenge, Abdul Haq said in an interview before the Kabul trip, is in convincing the civilians that the guerrillas are not bloodthirsty extremists bent on revenge, a description the Government has emphasized.

The guerrillas also say they hope to assuage civilians' fears that Kabul will become another Jalalabad, where intense rocket attacks on the city by both sides has caused heavy civilian casualties.

To this end, the guerrillas are distributing identity cards to those who work for them. The plastic-coated cards, the size of a credit card, are embossed with the Islamic Party emblem, carry the bearer's photograph, age, profession and address and are signed by Abdul Haq and his particular Kabul commander, and are meant to be used as safe passage badges after the Government falls.

The cards are carried, generally in small numbers, from Peshawar to Kabul. Abdul Haq is the only commander who has such cards.

#### Smuggled Weapons

The underground's work is also military. The guerrillas have small arm caches of Soviet Kalashnikov automatic rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, pistols and explosives, smuggled into the city in secret compartments of trucks and buses and then hidden in cellars and beneath floors.

Their targets, Abdul Haq said, are not at civilians but arms depots, air bases, fuel reserves, the Soviet Embassy and the like. There are far too few weapons to fight a war, Major Sayed Hamed said, but there are enough to pester the enemy.

Because the groups are loosely organized, it is difficult for the police to find the guerrillas. Abdul Haq said, to make mass arrests. Arms caches are found and arrests are made, and captured men and material are shown on Kabul television — so far never in large numbers.

Though Major Sayed Hamed said he was in constant radio contact with Abdul Haq, most communications appear to travel by word of mouth between Kabul and Logar, the province just southwest of Kabul. Simple instructions can take days to be executed as messengers go from village to village in search of their commander.

Although Major Sayed Hamed has not lived in Kabul for four years, he made frequent trips inside until recently, when the danger of recognition became too great.

Imprisoned for a year in 1978 for extremist activities, Major Sayed Hamed said he joined the resistance because he refused to fight for a Government that had sentenced him to death. He was later released and pardoned. Originally a member of one of the more moderate parties, he said he joined Hezb-i-Islami because "Abdul Haq is my friend."

#### Destroying Regime's Morale

While none of the rank-and-file members of the underground has ever met Abdul Haq, many of them said they had heard Abdul Haq expound his ideas on BBC Pashto and Persian service interviews, and said the interviews were crucial in helping them join his group.

The BBC services, which the rebels and the Government listen to regularly, are considered by many Afghans to be the most reliable source of information about their country.

The underground, Abdul Haq admitted, will not single-handedly bring about the fall of the Government and the ruling party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan or P.D.P.A. Rather, he said, its aim is to undermine the strategic positions in the capital and to destroy the regime's morale.

A teacher who has been working for Abdul Haq for four years explained his reasoning: "Both sides are extremists. People in Kabul place little hope in either side. The only hope we have is towards the internal commanders."

"One can never win in Afghanistan but one can always rent one and Najib is renting the P.D.P.A.," the teacher said.

Many Kabul residents also express doubt about the guerrillas' trustworthiness. Rumors are rampant in Kabul that Shiite Muslim commanders — members of a religious minority in Afghanistan, which is primarily Sunni Muslim — are making deals with the Government in the hope of undermining other rebel groups. Some Kabul residents said they felt caught in a political spider's web between the Government and the rebels.

Feelings may be split on the return of the exiled Afghan King, Zahir Shah, but a Kabul businessman said that a stable government was a necessity. He said Afghans in Kabul would be willing to accept the interim government that the seven guerrilla groups based in Peshawar formed in February, but he said such a government must prove it is united and a credible, and that the groups can cooperate to rule.

An officer in the uniformed police also ridiculed the guerrillas' disorganization, saying they cannot coordinate their attacks.

Look at television and listen to the radio and you can see one Najib is afraid of three people; Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Abdul Haq and Ahmad Shah Massoud," the officer said.

#### Killing of Prisoners

Mr. Massoud, is a well-known commander in northern Afghanistan who intermittently controls the road linking Kabul and the Soviet border. Mr. Hekmatyar is the interim government's foreign minister and leader of one of the most extreme of the seven guerrilla parties, the one heavily backed by the Pakistan Government.

"They are afraid of him because he is active, he is talkative and although he doesn't fight, he — like Najib — knows how to manipulate the media," the officer said of Mr. Hekmatyar.

In the eyes of many people in Kabul, the rebels' most serious mistakes are their killing of prisoners of war and their lack of foresight in their attack on Jalalabad. The army general who works in the Kabul underground said the guerrillas now need to attack major cities and main arteries, establish their interim government inside the country, and only then think of attacking Kabul.

#### The Jalalabad Test

He spoke in military terms, citing the standard military wisdom that in a siege, the attackers need to be three times as strong as the defenders and that the greatest cost will be in civilian lives. If the guerrillas cannot take Jalalabad, he said, how can they hope to take Kabul, where resupply from Pakistan is days away? He said he believed that Abdul Haq understood that, and added that that was why he was working for him.

Another source of tension in the city

is the widespread belief, described by the teacher, that the Khad secret service is recruiting widely, mostly the old, the young and the poor. Everyone, the teacher said, spies.

"No one can be trusted. We live waiting for that knock on the door," he said, comparing the situation to the period right after Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan in 1979, when the secret service made mass arrests in Kabul.

#### Stress and Scarcity of Food

Day-to-day life in the city is also a source of stress. There is a constant supply of electricity only in the mosques and in districts where party members live, residents said. There is not much food; while vegetables, fruit and meat are available on the black market, few can afford the exorbitant prices.

Meals in the houses this correspondent visited were limited: bread baked in the traditional buried ovens, and leeks, the only vegetable easily available in Kabul, with sugarcane tea.

The uncertainty of life in Kabul is creating a new flood of refugees, most heading to Pakistan via the Logar road. As a consequence, last week the Government imposed restrictions on civilians leaving the city, in particular on the roads through Logar. All men leaving by that road must carry identity cards saying Logar is their province of residence, and the women, who are not required to hold the cards, are being taken off the buses and interrogated separately.

Because of the difficulties at the Logar checkpoints, the guerrillas guiding this correspondent chose to leave the city by the northern road toward the town of Argandeh.

Pretending they were going to a wedding, the party — carrying bouquets of blue plastic flowers — drove to within 30 feet of a Government checkpoint before turning off the paved road to Argandeh, less than a mile away. At a burst of Kalashnikov fire from the checkpoint, the taxi driver stopped the car, but after a five-minute argument the soldier let the driver leave.

At Argandeh, a village held half by the guerrillas and half by the Government, the group was greeted by Major Sayed Hamed, binoculars in hand.

#### Missing Relatives

For those who remain in Kabul, war still takes its toll. The young housewife, looking at family picture albums, told of marriages and picnics — memories of better days. She proudly displayed a snapshot of Abdul Haq and, pointed to three small black-and-white portraits on another page.

"These are my cousins," she said. "Khad knocked on the door one night, 10 years ago. They pulled them out of bed and took them away. We haven't heard anything since."

"The Communists have torn our families to pieces," she said. "One brother is a guerrilla, another brother a Government soldier. I don't know whether we can bring them back together. But the war has to end so that we can."

#### THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 7



# Afghans' Sole Prize: Kabul, Not Jalalabad

By Tammy Arbuckle

AS the stalled mujahedeen offensive against Jalalabad drags on, backers of the Afghan resistance are beginning to question the American and British strategy of pursuing a quick military victory followed by the formation of a broad-based Afghan government. There is now even talk of a negotiated settlement with the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul.

Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, said this week that the military strategy — as well as the American refusal earlier this year to consider an interim government to rule until elections could be held — was a "crucial mistake."

Some mujahedeen backers in Washington, Islamabad and London are now thinking of imposing the onset of the winter in Afghanistan as a time limit for a successful Moslem rebel campaign against Afghan cities.

But this line of thinking attaches far too much significance to the stalemate in Jalalabad. The notion that the guerrillas could set up a provisional government with Jalalabad as its capital — thus partially fulfilling U.S. conditions for full recognition — and establish a functioning civil administration with substantial control of Afghan territory is a non-starter.

The mujahedeen possess the capability to capture Jalalabad by cutting its logistical lines of support and squeezing its garrison into eventual submission. But guerrillas, though they may capture towns, do not keep them. To do so violates the tenets of guerrilla warfare.

If exposed to Kabul's airborne firepower, a mujahedeen-held Jalalabad would be flattened, with an accompanying loss of mujahedeen and civilian lives. Any mujahedeen administrative body there would be reduced to existing in caves — something they can do already. This argument applies equally to other Afghan provincial towns.

Jalalabad's military significance too is negligible. Its fall ostensibly would offer the guerrillas use of the road west toward Kabul. But, again, mujahedeen traffic would be exposed to the Afghan Government's air power. The mujahedeen are best served by supply trails in the hills.

The idea that the rebels must take the cities before the Afghan winter is equally preposterous. This only puts

needless pressure on the mujahedeen to take the speedy conquest route and act like a conventional force, massing around cities and committing themselves to frontal assaults on fixed Government positions protected by an air and artillery firepower umbrella.

These calls for swift results and the capture of a provincial capital to serve as the seat of a rebel government are reminiscent of similar demands U.S. officials made of the Nicaraguan contras from 1983 to 1986, which led to military defeats.

Kabul, custodian of Afghanistan's levers of power, is the sole, politically worthwhile prize in Afghanistan. The rebels need time and continued Western material and political support to evolve a new social, political and military strategy.

This would include a transformation of its military from a guerrilla to a mobile force for the war's next phase, which is to gain control of the capital. What they don't need is ill-advised pressure for quick results. □

*Tammy Arbuckle is a defense and international affairs analyst specializing in limited war and insurgencies.*

NYT 6/26

## Those Darling Mullahs

To the Editor:

"Afghans' Sole Prize: Kabul, Not Jalalabad" by Tammy Arbuckle (Op-Ed, May 26) is a classic example of the jaundiced obsession that the Western intelligentsia has developed about this tragic war in Afghanistan. It is hard to comprehend the real mystique of this love affair between the mullahs and Western intellectuals. Indeed, one is puzzled.

These intellectuals, one would figure, can't wait to see the mullahs impose their theocracy on a large population of Afghanistan. I believe that if given a choice, these Western intellectuals, especially women, would not like to live in a society governed by the mujahedeen. Their sociopolitical agenda is a clear antithesis of Western values.

What then makes the hearts bleed for these religious zealots? Why this hypocrisy? We all know the Soviets have long gone from Afghanistan, and there is no other foreign power colonizing that land-locked country. Whom then do the mujahedeen want to eliminate from Afghanistan? Those in the opposite camp are as much bona fide Afghans and as much Muslims as any of the mujahedeen. Why has the Western intelligentsia ganged up against non-mujahedeen Afghans?

It is ironic that no one is speaking on behalf of those Afghans who are being attacked and victimized by the mujahedeen. Severe food shortages have been inflicted on these innocent and neutral civilians because of the blockades of supply routes by the mujahedeen. This is happening in the name of Allah and Islam, and the Western intellectuals are encouraging it.

People in this country forget that the ultimate beneficiaries of this mindless and brutal war are not going to be the people of Afghanistan, but the Pakistan Government and its corrupt generals. Substantial evidence is available to prove the thugery and embezzlement committed by the Pakistani generals in cahoots with the mullahs relating to the arms supplies to the mujahedeen.

Weapons meant for use against Afghan Government forces are sold for cash in the black markets of the tribal territories near Peshawar and eventually purchased by the Pakistani civilian population. It has become a big underground business in Pakistan. The Pakistani generals and the mujahedeen are raking in big profits from this wartime business opportunity. There are rumors that the mujahedeen may also be involved in drug trafficking.

The mujahedeen may enjoy the material support of the Western powers and the intellectual approval of the Western media; however, they do not have moral and political support within Afghanistan. These religious fanatics are no Cromwells and lack political legitimacy. It is therefore imperative that the arms supplies to the mujahedeen be cut off and other alternatives explored to resolve the internal conflict.

Among these alternatives one must not underestimate the effectiveness of negotiations with the Afghan government. The mujahedeen should draw their strength from the Afghan people and not rely on lethal weapons. Brutal force is not in vogue in today's statecraft, and must not be practiced. Freedom and democracy do not emerge out of violence.

IFTIKHAR AHMAD

Brooklyn, May 29, 1989  
The writer, an Afghan, has lived in this country five years.

NYT 6/9



■ Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, foreign minister of Afghan rebels' exile government, pleads for wider diplomatic recognition. HK Std 4/24

# End Aid To the Afghan Rebels

By Anthony C. Beilenson

**T**he Bush Administration missed an important opportunity to bring an end to U.S. involvement in Afghanistan when Secretary of State James Baker failed to pursue the subject during his visit to Moscow last week.

Supplying military aid to the Afghan rebels is no longer in our interest now that the Soviets have withdrawn. If the Bush Administration won't cut off this aid, then Congress must do it for the Administration.

The United States' original goal in arming the mujahedeen was crystal-clear: The Soviet Union had invaded this nonaligned, fiercely independent country, and we wanted to help the indigenous resistance forces oust the occupying army.

It was an instance where American intervention in the affairs of another nation was clearly the right thing to do.

To the surprise of many in the international community, our intervention worked. Ten years after the Soviet Army occupied Kabul, its troops have retreated across the northern border — a significant victory for the Afghan people and the United States.

But now that we have achieved our goal, we ought to get out of Afghanistan before our foreign policy success turns into a disaster.

By continuing to send weapons to the rebels, we are risking all the benefits we have gained, since the Afghans are beginning to turn their anger — once directed at the Soviets — toward the U.S. for helping to prolong the war and the killing in this war-weary nation.

Our continued intervention raises questions about who we are supporting, and why. The resistance has never been a unified political movement but rather a loose coalition of at least seven separate factions that often are paralyzed by infighting and squabbling.

By providing aid selectively to the bickering factions, the U.S. is undermining the rebels' struggling efforts to forge a consensus in military or political strategy — and stirring up a lot of anti-American sentiment in the process.

## Afghanistan Won't Be a Puppet

To the Editor:

Representative Anthony C. Beilenson, chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (Op-Ed, May 22), says the time may have come to sever links with the Afghan mujahedeen. That says more about United States policy in the region than about those fighting in Afghanistan.

Moreover, some of the largest and best equipped factions are made up of Islamic fundamentalists whose goals for a new Afghanistan are in stark contrast with our own.

We may have been willing to ignore the ideology of the rebels while they were fighting the Soviets, but now that they are fighting only their own countrymen and are trying to form a new post-occupation government as well, we face an entirely different situation that demands a cutoff of our military aid.

Even if we were supporting factions that were clearly aligned with the U.S., it was never our goal to install a pro-American client government. Ultimately, of course, the U.S. would like to see a broad-based popular government in Kabul, with prospects for long-term stability and a friendly view toward American interests in southwest Asia. But we have no business telling the Afghans what kind of government they should establish.

Of course, U.S. aid to the mujahedeen is not the only issue. Soviet military support for President Najibullah's regime is also a serious obstacle to Afghan self-determination. Yet the Bush Administration remains unwilling to negotiate with the Soviets for a mutual cutoff of all military aid to Afghanistan.

So far, U.S. support for the resistance has been especially popular in Congress. But as the American people begin to realize that we are now mired in another country's messy, protracted civil war and are sending weapons to Islamic fundamentalists, Congressional support will certainly erode.

Before that happens, the Administration would be wise to seize the moment and announce a new U.S. proposal for an American-Soviet hands-off policy in Afghanistan.

Military aid to the rebels was morally defensible and wisely supported by the international community.

It has been a success. Now let's take satisfaction in our achievement and gracefully retire, leaving the task of building a new government to the Afghan people.

Anthony C. Beilenson, Democrat of California, is chairman of the House's Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

NYT 5/22

After the Soviets invaded in 1979, the Carter Administration thought that since the Soviets are a superpower, these poor Afghans may fight for a few months, but in the end they will be smashed. It was not worthwhile to upset the Soviets by supporting us, because we would be defeated anyway. We began our fight without you. We did not do it to please you or anyone else. We captured enemy equipment and successfully destroyed Soviet tanks, planes and vehicles. Our successes were realized without outside help. United States support came subsequently, perhaps as an attempt to take revenge for Vietnam.

We are not professional soldiers, but we are trying our best. Most of our people fighting are students, shopkeepers, drivers, farmers and bureaucrats. We just want to liberate our country, kick out the Soviet-installed regime and form a government representing the will of the majority of Afghans. For this we are fighting and dying. For the mistakes of a few squabbling politicians, the world should not close its eyes to the struggle and objectives of the common Afghan.

Your Government always claimed to support the resistance against the puppet regime of the Soviets. That puppet regime is still in Kabul. President Najibullah was not the minister of health or education. As head of the secret police, he was the minister of torture and killing. Since he became President, we have had thousands more victims. He has had no problems sending planes and tanks to kill women, children and old people. More than one and a half million people have been killed, 70 percent of the country has been destroyed, and five million to six million people have become refugees.

It is said we should make a broad-based government with President Najibullah and his cronies. Yet America won't give a visa to Kurt Waldheim because he was alleged to have a role in war crimes more than 45 years ago. But you want us to compromise with the Hitler of my country.

We have been fighting to kick the Soviets out, to depose their puppet regime and to establish a freely chosen, Islamic government. We have accomplished the first. While the Soviets continue to give heavy equipment, Scud missiles and sophisticated aircraft to use against our people, Representative Beilenson wants to cut us off, thus giving the regime the license to increase the killing. An end of aid to the mujahedeen would extend the life of the Najibullah regime and result in prolonging the war and bloodshed.

If the advice of Mr. Beilenson is taken seriously, it would suggest that:

(1) The United States was not supporting the people of Afghanistan for their freedom, but using these people to kill their enemy.

(2) The two superpowers may be playing a game with small countries, trading one country for another.

(3) The United States does not care about human lives, only pieces on their world game board.

We respect the American people as much as anybody else. Yes, there are a few fanatics among us, yet the majority of us are against them as much as anybody else. However, because of mistakes made by some of our agencies, there are legitimate complaints by some Afghans.

The struggle of our nation is for the establishment of a system that assures human rights, social justice and peace. This system does not threaten any nation. Mr. Beilenson's view of the future system of Afghanistan is in stark contrast to ours.

I am not begging you for any help. Jalalabad or some other area will not fall because of your analysts' expectations. We started our struggle with the full support and determination of our people and will continue regardless of the wishes or commands of others.

We don't want to be an American or Soviet puppet. I have stated publicly that I want to see my country progress as Japan did after World War II. I would like you to be with us as a friend, not as somebody pulling the strings. It was more than two years after the Americans withdrew from Vietnam before a government was installed. It was 14 years after your own revolution before you made a government. We are no better than anybody else, but I know it will not take us that long.

Mr. Beilenson says the resistance is made up of several parties who are engaged in infighting and squabbling. Like Democrats and Republicans? Do you want one party, like the Soviets, who have only one idea for how to run the country? There has never been a single instance of our committing a hijack or kidnapping. We don't need to win our struggle with terrorist activities. We are right and strong, and this is all we need.

ABDUL HAQ  
Peshawar, Pakistan, June 1, 1989  
The writer heads one of the Afghan resistance groups.

NYT 6/9



Abdul Haq

From the Editor:

Since, like almost everyone else, we thought Afghanistan would start to fade from the printed pages of the world press, we harbored visions of an entire issue in life-sized print. So much for that; however, some of the print in this issue is larger than it has been. We are hot on the trail of a FORUM magnifying instrument which we hope to enclose with a future issue.

Gossip: A story circulating in Peshawar is that during the Soviet bombing of the Panjsher, a previously unknown vein of emeralds was uncovered. Now the muj are blowing up parts of the area in the hope that more emeralds will surface. - ROA UN Ambassador Shah Moh'd Dost has returned to Kabul. His replacement is expected any day, although his identity has not yet been disclosed officially so we don't know which Rahim it is.

We think it might be time to start compiling a Directory of films & videos which have been made about Afghanistan during the past 11 years. Let us know if you have made any, seen any or know who might know who has any. Maybe by the time the war is really over we'll have a first draft. Now, if everyone would just leave the Afghans alone to get on with the job.



GUMAA / House of Commons  
Cartoon

As always, we are grateful to all of you who sent us information for this issue. Please keep it coming. The deadline for the next issue is August 15.

## EVENTS

The Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Assn. will be held in Toronto, Canada, from 11/15-18, 1989. For information, contact MESA 1989, Dept. of Oriental Studies, U. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. (602) 621-5850.

AFGHAN IV PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS & STAFF (1964-66) will hold a reunion August 11, 12 & 13 in Grafton, Vermont, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the group's formation. AFGHAN IV was the largest single Peace Corps group sent until that time & was the first group to have volunteers permanently assigned to provincial posts. For further information, contact Len Oppenheim: (201) 291-7269 (evenings).

Donatella Lorch was the speaker at a fund-raising dinner sponsored by the AFGHAN REFUGEE FUND in New York on June 28.

Mahmood & Jamila Masumi demonstrated Afghan rug making at CITYLORE '89, held June 4 in New York's Central Park.

Pasadena California artist Peter Adams exhibited paintings of Afghanistan, done during a 6-week trip he took with the mujahideen in 1987, at Monterey Park's Bruggemeyer Library in March. He has donated part of the sales of his paintings to the Int'l Medical Corps.

The Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at New York University will sponsor a conference on US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST on Oct. 20. Graduate students are invited to present papers dealing with The Peace Process, the Gulf, & Afghanistan. Proposals for papers should be sent to Lisa Korson or John Miglietta, Dept. of Politics, NYU, 25 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10003, by August 1st. For further information call (212) 998-8500.

# Even in War, Afghan Flair for Survival Survives

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, June 14—On a blindingly hot morning recently, a country dweller with 20,000 Afghans, equivalent to about \$70, solved the transportation problems that torment a country now entering its 11th year of war.

With his savings, the man bought a ride on an Afghan military helicopter from a village outside the besieged city of Jalalabad across the mountains to Kabul, the capital, 80 miles to the west. To make the same journey by road, he would have had to brave a highway that has been repeatedly mined, and where no bus or truck is safe from rebel ambush.

To those who watched him hitch his ride, he was a reminder of the rugged Afghan practicality that makes many confident that the people here will eventually find a way to resolve the differences that have impelled the war.

In the writings of travelers, diplomats and soldiers who have journeyed here, it is a quality commonly attributed to the special circumstances of a harsh land that is two-thirds mountain and nearly one-third desert that has been criss-crossed by invaders for at least 2,300 years and that has rarely been kind to the sentimental or the soft.

A man high in the Government in Kabul today put it more bluntly. "Don't forget," he said, "We are a nation descended from brigands."

## How to Sell a Rug

The tradition is reflected in the habit of some Kabul merchants who spread freshly woven carpets in the street, where a few days' pounding by heavy trucks, armored personnel carriers and tanks can produce a facsimile of antiquity.

When a Western businessman paid \$800 recently for what turned out to be a traffic-aged piece, then enlisted the Government's help in getting his money back, he discovered that the Government official assigned to him as a guide had taken a commission from the merchant for helping to push the deal through. Eventually the money, except for the official's commission, was returned.

The mercantilist spirit is rampant. Western organizations that provide badly needed medicines to Kabul hospitals have found that a reason for chronic shortages of supplies like insulin, morphine and plaster of Paris is that they are traded from the hospital's dispensary into the black market.

With the plaster of Paris for a broken leg now costing about 7,500 afghans, half a month's wage for an ordinary worker, and a month's insulin supply running about the same, inventory control in many hospitals has become a notorious task.

With thousands of Kabul families hoping to leave the country for safer climes, there is a thriving market in stolen or "borrowed" passports, the latter occasionally disappearing from foreigners' possession long enough for them to be counterfeited before mysteriously re-appearing.

## Ingenuity for Solving Problems

Then there are the Kabul taxi drivers who refuse to set a price for a journey, insisting that any sum will be fine, only to reject the fare offered by the passenger at the end of the journey with a demand for sums that can run to \$20 for a five-mile ride.

But those are the jarring aspects of life among a people who have a remarkable ingenuity for solving their own and other people's problems.

When Kabul was hit last month by one of its frequent power blackouts, passengers on one electrically powered trolley bus leaped out, lined up behind the vehicle and helped the driver push it three-quarters of a mile to the garage. When drivers of privately owned taxis and trucks need fuel, in chronically short supply since Soviet troops withdrew and rebels began rocket attacks on tanker convoys on the road to Kabul, they find it wherever they can.

One recent morning, a yellow-and-white Kabul taxi was seen at a Kabul curb, its driver syphoning fuel from an army tank into a jerrycan. Seated on the turret, the tank's commander was counting the dog-eared notes that were the proceeds of the transaction.

## No Water, Food or Beds

At shops selling food and books on Chicken Street in the merchants' quarter, much that is not on the shelves can be readily ordered.

How half a dozen bottles of French Champagne can be promptly procured for an embassy party in a city under rebel siege is a mystery. "Allah be praised, it has come" said the Champagne seller, a member of the Hazara tribe.

On a trip to Herat, a group of foreign reporters was taken by an Afghan Army general to the Herat Hotel, once the city's finest. In the rocket-blasted lobby, a morose-looking man who introduced himself as the manager explained that he had no electricity, no running water, and no food.

"Never mind," the general said, chuckling. Only when the manager disclosed that he also had no beds did the general concede and lead the party on a retreat. Eventually, he found an abandoned merchant's home, also without electricity, water, food or beds, and had soldiers bring in the equipment needed to turn the home into a makeshift hotel.

Afghan ways do not always please the Soviet officials who remain here to monitor the flow of arms and finances that sustain the Kabul Government.

## Selectivity on the Salang

Because of the difficulty in getting rocket convoys to the capital on the 250-mile Salang highway from the Soviet border, the Soviets have mounted a dawn-to-dusk airlift of food, fuel and weapons for the last three months that is said to have cost the Kremlin tens of millions of dollars a month. Meanwhile, trucks have been arriving down the Salang road from the border town of Hairatan carrying new Mercedes-Benz limousines for Kabul families with good Government connections.

Another thing that has vexed the Soviet Embassy is the habit of Government troops in Kabul and in other besieged cities, like Kandahar and Herat, of firing randomly into the night sky toward distant rebel positions with everything from Kalashnikov rifles to rocket launchers.

Though the displays have become a favorite among foreigners living in a hotel with a view of the Kabul skyline, the waste of ammunition has caused some Afghan-Soviet friction.

"We have asked them what they are doing," said an added Soviet diplomat. "And they say, never mind, it is our Afghan way."



Bags of grain being unloaded from a plane in Kabul, Afghanistan, earlier this year. The Soviets have maintained a dawn-to-dusk airlift of food, fuel and weapons for the last three months.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 19, 1989

## The riddle of Jalalabad

Many of the attackers and defenders belong to the same tribe, the Ghilzai. While the fighting has been going on, representatives of the two sides have been meeting to try to fix a deal that would bring peace to the city. If the gates of Jalalabad are suddenly opened to the mujaheddin, it may not be because the defenders have been overwhelmed but because tribal loyalties have prevailed.

Such an outcome would be a serious setback to the government of President Najibullah. To guard against it he appears to have strengthened the Jalalabad garrison with large numbers of soldiers from other parts of the country. Perhaps 30,000 soldiers are in the city: half the Afghan army. Mil-

larily, therefore, the city looks strong. The road to the capital, Kabul, though hazardous, is open for convoys of food, ammunition and soldiers. The airport is in army hands and, though damaged, is usable.

THE ECONOMIST MAY 20 1989

# Desperate Afghan Mothers Battle Over Food as U.N. Program Ends

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—For 13 sacks of flour, pregnant women tore at each other Tuesday and children screamed and beat each other. Infants were held tightly in their mothers' arms as the women reached out desperately.

It was the final day of a two-month-old U.N. effort to feed the most desperate people in Kabul—pregnant women and mothers of children under age 3.

When the last sack of flour was thrown off the truck just after 11 a.m., controversy as it was critical, the riot that erupted outside the Alluddin Clinic in southern Kabul provided a stark illustration of human despair.

It also illustrated the results of the politics of food in Afghanistan, where the decade-old war between Islamic guerrillas and the pro-Soviet government has deteriorated into a stalemate. Flour and sugar have become as important as rockets and field artillery.

Since the *moujahdeen*, as the rebel force is called, began trying to cut Kabul off from the rest of the country in February—the move was timed to coincide with the withdrawal of the last Soviet troops Feb. 15—the price of basic commodities has doubled and in some cases tripled.

## Shortages Commonplace

Shortages, bread lines and undernourishment quickly became commonplace in the city's poorer quarters. The little food that is getting in apparently is going largely to the military and members of the ruling party.

Reacting to the crisis, the U.N. coordinator for the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, issued an appeal in February for an internationally financed emergency program to feed the people most critically in need. The only country that responded was the Soviet Union.

Moscow, President Najibullah's closest ally, which had pledged \$600 million to the U.N. reconstruction fund, delivered 225 tons of wheat and 300 tons of sugar to Kabul to get the emergency feeding program started.

An additional appeal from the U.N. coordinator for volunteers to airlift food supplies into Kabul fared even worse. Many nations feared that the rebels would try to shoot down the aircraft. Others refused for political reasons.

## Ethiopia Sent One Flight

The only other country to respond was Ethiopia, which itself is plagued by famine. And even Ethiopia dropped out after one flight with 26 tons of wheat.

Unofficially, the United States and other Western governments, which refuse to recognize the Najibullah government and are active-

ly supporting the *moujahdeen*, made it clear that they would not support the program because it would prolong Najibullah's rule. But they offered no objection, provided the food program was limited to pregnant women and children.

"You can call it food politics if you wish, but the fact remains that we cannot be seen supporting this regime in Kabul in any way," a Western diplomat said, asking not to be named. "The food is distributed through government clinics, and that helps legitimize Najibullah. But I assure you, no one is going to starve to death in Kabul."

## Politics of Food

Ross Mountain, project director for the U.N. Development Program in Afghanistan, is not so certain. A New Zealander, he oversees the emergency food program in Kabul and is aware, he said, of the intricacies of food politics. Like the women and children involved, he cannot see how such politics applies to them.

"What you see here," he said, "is a totally humanitarian operation, one that is distributing non-strategic goods to a non-strategic population."

Asked why the Soviet Union has not contributed more wheat and sugar to keep the program going, he said, "The U.N. coordinator is appealing to all donors now to help, and that, of course, includes those who have given before."

Few are as aware as Mountain of how little the program has accomplished so far.

"We have no illusions about the scope of what we are doing," he said. "We know we've just scratched the surface."

Under the program, the United Nations has distributed about 20 pounds of flour and 6 pounds of sugar apiece to 20,000 of the hundreds of thousands of women who qualify for the aid.

The supplies have been handed out through the 36 official government maternity clinics in Kabul. In order to qualify, the women must produce certification that they are pregnant or that they have had their children inoculated.

Because of limited supplies, the U.N. people have had to ration flour and sugar. They have issued coupons to only 500 of the more than 3,000 mothers registered at each clinic. Even then, the supplies were enough for only a single distribution at 30 clinics.

"It's peanuts, really," Mountain said. "We're just doing all we can."

Also, scores of destitute mothers always turned up too late for the ration coupons, and they pleaded desperately from the sidelines at distribution time. On Tuesday, at the Alluddin Clinic, the angry crowd was larger than ever.

"What about me?" one woman

demanding, clutching at the jacket of a U.N. official. "I have a small child. My husband was killed in this war. He was a soldier."

In her arms she cradled a 2-year-old, its face covered with scabs. It was one of her five children, she said, and added: "We are starving too. What about us?"

Until its final moments, Tuesday's two-hour distribution at the Alluddin Clinic was for the most part orderly and efficient. Sher Jan-Mayar, the Afghan supervisor of distribution, and his staff had worked out an almost foolproof system after several incidents of forgeries in the first weeks.

The problem came at the end, when 13 of the 500 women regis-

tered either failed to show up or got lost in the mass of humanity surrounding the truck.

As the men in the truck lifted the last 13 sacks of flour and tossed them into the sea of outstretched hands, the riot started. One woman nearly lost her clothes when she climbed up a chain at the back of the truck, reached in and grabbed a sack of flour, only to have it torn from her hands.

"This is the worst I've seen it," Jan-Mayar said, pulling free of the crowd as dozens of women shrieked and wept and reached out for him. "I feel lucky to have got out whole."

For the people who feared that the food program would shore up President Najibullah, there was an ironic message in the way the program came to an end.

As the truck pulled away, some women muttered angrily and kicked at the dust in the narrow lane. But they did not blame the United Nations, and they did not blame Jan-Mayar. They blamed their government. LAT 5/3

## Afghan rebels lay siege to empty city

From KATE WEBB  
in Jalalabad

THIS eastern Afghan city has been left scarred but virtually intact with water, electricity and telephones still working despite a pounding by thousands of rebel rockets during a two-month siege.

The first Western journalists to visit Jalalabad since the siege began saw yesterday that the city, flanked by snow-capped mountains and surrounded by orchards and wheatfields, was almost deserted except for government soldiers.

Shrapnel-scarred houses were abandoned, shops boarded up and streets virtually empty. The huge walled city jail is ironically undamaged, its 70 prisoners still inside.

But earlier reports from Soviet journalists, and a statement by the Afghanistan President, Dr. Najibullah, in Kabul, that the rebels had reduced Jalalabad to rubble were clearly exaggerated.

The city's houses, many surrounded by sumptuous gardens, are standing, even though their windows are shattered and walls pock-marked with holes. Shops, although closed and boarded up, are still standing and basically intact.

Rebel claims that they held the airport and parts of the old city also proved to be un-

founded, although pilots say that rockets fired by the guerrillas from long range had stopped planes landing.

Jalalabad, known as "The Gateway to Kabul", is semi-abandoned but not destroyed—and it is still under siege.

Traffic on the road from Kabul, its only supply line, is subject to ambushes, mining and attacks.

But there are few people for the rebels to take should they still want to, and few people for government soldiers to defend.

Reports from the Pakistan border, only 75km away, say that up to 40,000 refugees crossed the border at the outset of the siege, fleeing intense fighting, heavy government bombing and rebel rockets.

Rebel rocketing has become less frequent and government soldiers do not appear to be fighting.

The siege has turned into a stalemate, a fact borne out by a half-empty general hospital and a decision by the Soviet-backed Kabul Government to risk sending Western journalists into the city for the first time.

With most civilians gone and the heat of the summer setting in on the eastern Afghanistan plain, both sides seem to recognize the futility of continuing the battle. There is a strange calm over Jalalabad.

The rebels are concerned that the Jalalabad siege—their first big operation following the Soviet withdrawal—succeeded only in driving the residents away.

THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN

May 13-14 1989

## FOOTNOTES TO HISTORY

This is the first of what we hope will be a fairly regular column of speculation/gossip/fact on the Afghan situation by individuals who are in a position to comment but who prefer to remain anonymous.

From Peshawar:

The political situation seems oddly distant - so much a part of life one doesn't really notice it..

The Wahabis or Salafian, the "true believers," from Saudi Arabia are all over Afghanistan & are telling the Afghans that they are not real Moslems. The Afghans tolerate the Wahabis because of their money and the fact that they really are willing to get killed in the Jihad. It's an Islamic martyr's Club Med! Most of them are young & very idealistic & dogmatic in their particular view of religion - at least dogmatic enough for their religious leaders to give them money to throw around. All kinds of stories circulate about Wahabi's chopping off women's hands & heads in villages which were not antagonistic to the Kabul Gov't. Some mujahideen tell stories of what bad fighters the Wahabis are. They seem to take a suicidal approach on the battlefield, running out of their positions to attack tanks with Kalashnikovs. When a bomb hit a jeep full of Wahabis, the mujahideen shouted "Allah Akbar" in felicitous unison. An "unconfirmed" story tells of a Wahabi-run school burned to the ground because the refugees had had enough of their preaching and closing down Afghan-run schools in the camps. But the Wahabis can afford the best wheels & the best guns. It will be fascinating to see how far the Arabs are willing to push their interests in Afghanistan. Until they decide, lots of Afghans will make some money, maybe even enough for a first crop at home. And the distribution leaves the 7 elves in Peshawar holding lots of cash.

The exciting thing is that every day one hears of the regional power centers, like Massoud in the North, Ismail Khan in Herat, Abdul Haq around Kabul, &

many others, strengthening their local structures & consolidating power with the people inside. These people are much more likely to come together around a table & be reasonable. Their concerns are not reflected in the interim gov't, but when they become strong enough to call the shots & independent of the current aid channels, they could provide good regional bases of power on which to build a loose central gov't. They are practical & much more liberal minded about solving their problems. There are increasing instances of young Afghans from abroad being called upon to help rebuild various regions & help strengthen local institutions. If the trend is permitted to continue for a while, the 7 parties will have a hard time justifying themselves. The parties are aware of this & are trying to consolidate themselves in the interim gov't so they will still remain the channel for int'l aid. As always, Afghanistan is a patchwork of power bases but various patches are changing color.

It is true, as I have heard it from a number of sources, that the Pashtoon tribes who were moved to the north in Amanullah's time have started moving back to their indigenous regions. There can never be again, from what I see, any kind of domination of the central power, however weak it is, like that which was exercised by the Durrani line for the past two centuries. Some throw up the idea of a Farsiwan vs. Pashtoon war happening. The rationale is that the Pashtoon have always dominated power, even under the Soviet occupation & among the resistance groups in Peshawar. Now Farsiwan, the North, will strike back. I don't know how seriously one ought to take this view. The muj inside, with some exceptions based either on the Peshawar political agendas or old tribal feuds, manage to get along with each other pretty well. The increasing strength & stability of the regional power bases may be an impediment to whatever central gov't comes along, but the balancing effect might be concrete enough to assure some kind of truly representative gov't. I don't think that, other than the immediate bandaid solutions like the Islamabad shura gov't headed by Mujadidi, there is anywhere to turn right now.

Miracle of miracles, most of the factions' midlevel & lower ranks, although mocking of the situation, seem content that Mujadidi



is President. Their rationale is that he is weak & therefore cannot push his own policy & will have to force some kind of consensus. If peace were permitted & the regional powers given the resources to rebuild their areas & set up institutions by their standards, the transition to an eventual representative gov't might be possible - assuming Afghanistan's neighbors give up on their individual intentions for the country.

Speaking of neighbors, it's a wait & see situation with the ISI. Military aid to the Jalalabad front has resumed & some major aid is going towards the North. The scenario alluded to by the same people who pushed for the Jalalabad attack is that, by September, Massoud will have a very strong, well armed military force ready to attack Kabul. (I have no way to confirm this.) Apparently, a convoy of 150 men trained by the ISI in new weapons' systems headed back inside a while ago. Although Jalalabad is a mess, most are content to let it ride as an exercise in attrition. There is a tremendous lack of coordination, but the muj haven't lost much ground when it comes down to it. Kabul can keep on bombing for as long as the image of defeating muj is convenient & they have the arsenal to do so.

There are rumors that the ISI may shift the distribution system they have nurtured so far because of int'l pressure. Who knows! A recent arrival mentioned that even if the pressure increases, the people involved might be reluctant to change the system too much since it provided the victorious combination. The Soviets are out, after all. I don't know that crediting the Pakistanis with this shows too much insight. It's like crediting the Federal Express delivery system for a corporate takeover because it got the documents there without much attention to promptness, fairness or overall strategy.

The article that appeared in the 4/23 \* NYT created quite a stir. For one thing all the US diplomatic staff, with the exception of some key people, are being rotated. Some were due anyway, but others...? The article seemed for the most part to ring true except that the ISI tried too hard to make scapegoats

of Benazir's people for the Jalalabad attack. According to informed sources (ha!) it is the Americans who have made an active effort to help expose the ISI involvement in order to curb it. It makes sense. Most of the detailed political reporting is usually confirmed with State Dept. sources so the extent of the detail & criticism the article presented was something the US Gov't wanted to see happen.

We never really read or heard much about the ISI & its degree of control over the Alliance because until the Shura many journalists had not been exposed to ISI control. At the Shura meetings, Peshawar & Islamabad were crawling with journalists who saw ISI people involved and it became easier to start asking questions. And, the ISI wanted the story to appear in the NYT to assist ISI efforts to curb Benazir's recent heavy-handed methods (trying to dissolve the Punjab state gov't & kick out Nawaz Sharif) by putting the blame on her. A reasonable assertion is that perhaps Benazir's people did push for an all-out attack on Jalalabad, after they heard the Samarkhel military post was taken, but their reasons were based on the premise that Benazir wants the whole Afghan thing to end as quickly as possible.

There is new talk of an American sell-out in relation to some deal the US & the Soviets made over Nicaragua & Afghanistan. US policy is still pushing for the interim muj gov't, but there are problems with that as well. Sayaf, the prime minister, & Mujadidi, the president, seem to be in a tug-of-war over who should have more power. Each of the ministries given to the parties seems to be concentrating its resources for its own party & trying to consolidate power for their own people. In effect, you have the different ministries dominated by the different parties.

As I was saying, politics seem somehow distant.

Peshawar, 5/89

*Op Cit*

\* See FORUM  
XVII: 3  
P. 17



# At the Kabul Zoo

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—Nasik Mir issued an appeal to the world the other day.

It was not an appeal for peace in Afghanistan. It had nothing to do with the United Nations or Moscow or Washington. In fact, it had little to do with the war that has been tearing Mir's country apart for the past decade.

Mir wants a kangaroo. A llama would do, or even a South African ostrich. And he doesn't expect to get them for free. He is willing to trade good red elk for them, even an ibex or two.

Mir is the director of the Kabul Zoo, and with spring in the air in this mile-high capital, he has something on his mind besides the war. The zoo season has begun.

Incongruous though it may be, with rebel rockets falling on Kabul every day and lines for bread and fuel a way of life, the Kabul Zoo is crowded with couples who are in love and students with a lust for learning.

The zoo is just one of the many distractions Kabul has found in their efforts to cope with the effects of war on this refugee-swollen city of 2 million people.

With the coming of spring in the Kabul Valley, weddings and parties are taking place on an almost nightly basis. Every evening at the Kabul Hotel, a once-grand establishment that now resembles a cracked and peeling prison, huge family groups decked out in sequined gowns and three-piece suits fill the cavernous ballroom. Teen-agers and adults dance to rock bands and dig into what delicacies can be found.

Television is also an important distraction. Many Kabulis have access only to state-run Afghan Television, which offers repeats of speeches by President Najibullah and old rock videos from pre-revolution Iran. But others have huge antennas that pick up Soviet television, and they spend their evenings watching Phil Donahue shows and Russian movies.

During the day, most of Kabul's children are in school, which have not been closed by the war. But when classes are dismissed, some teen-agers head for the poolrooms of the Old City bazaar, others for the city's ancient parks and gardens.

And some head for the zoo.

"When the season peaks in a few weeks, we expect 1,000 visitors a day," Mir said. "Some are coming to see and learn about the animals, most of them students."

"But it is also for entertainment. Young couples do come here to be

alone. It is a quiet place, the zoo, a peaceful place."

Mir is the first to concede that his zoo is also a troubled place. It has not been spared by the war, he said. "Our biggest problem," he said, "is that we cannot go around the country to collect animals for trade anymore. The war is there."

Before the April, 1978, Marxist revolution and the civil war that followed, the zoo was something of a showplace in south Asia. It was built with the assistance of the Cologne Zoo in West Germany.

A 1972 guide to Kabul praises the zoo for the natural environment it provides for the animals.

Just before the revolution, the West Germans cut their ties to the zoo, and when Najibullah's pro-Moscow People's Democratic Party took over the country, in 1978, the zoo found itself even more isolated internationally.

"We tried our best to link up with other city zoos, to get animals by trade," Mir said, emphasizing that he has Afghan red elk and ibex to spare.

"We tried Moscow, Prague, Delhi, Sofia and other cities, but either they didn't have the animals we wanted or they didn't want the animals we had."

As a result, many of Mir's animals died of old age, among them his kangaroo, llama and ostrich.

Mir's collection has been so reduced that he concedes, sadly, that there are now more dead animals—stuffed and on exhibit in the zoo's museum—than live ones.

Still, there are signs of hope. In answer to Mir's plea, the East Berlin Zoo donated what has become the pride of Mir's collection—a male and female lion that last year gave birth to cubs.

Unfortunately, East Berlin could offer no help in the effort to acquire a kangaroo, and as veterinarian Habibullah Atayee said: "This is a zoo. We should have a kangaroo."

Another animal has become popular, if only in a negative sense. Children have crowded around the cage of the zoo's black bear.

The bear pokes its head through the bars and the spectators tease and taunt it. Occasionally a child will laugh and shout, "Sorobit Sorobit!"—"Russian! Russian!"

**Los Angeles Times**

May 7, 1989.

# Cranes

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

NEW DELHI

**I**S the war in Afghanistan endangering one of the few remaining cranes of the rare Siberian crane?

The cranes, which breed along the Ob River in the Soviet Union, have for centuries made an 1,800-mile trip to India every winter through Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the last few years, as its flock has been declining drastically, some ornithologists at India's Bharatpur bird sanctuary, where this winter's census has been completed. Only 23 cranes were counted this year, down from at least 100 in the 1960's and 200 or more a century ago.

The birds' migratory route to India passes through the Kandahar area of Afghanistan and territory along the Afghan-Pakistan border where guerrilla armies are based and refugees are sheltered. (Other flocks winter in Iran and China.)

Apart from having their feeding and rest stops disrupted by guerrilla war and heavy Soviet bombardment over the last year, the birds are apparently being shot for food, said D. A. Hussain, senior scientist at the Bombay Natural History Society, in a telephone interview. He is in charge of tracking all migratory birds in India under a program supported by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

Both Pakistan and India are trying to stop the killing of the birds, but there is no way that remote areas can be adequately policed.

**Dwindling Flock in Iran**

"There's very little we can do," said Dr. George W. Archibald, director of the International Crane Foundation in Baraboo, Wis. "We hope the survivors will hold on. They possess something no other Siberian cranes have: the knowledge of the migration routes."

He said about 2,700 Siberian cranes survive in the wild. A flock that winters in Iran has dwindled to 15 birds,

and 2,626 cranes were counted in a flock that winters at Poyang Lake, in Jiangxi Province, China.

The 5-foot-tall crane has a red face and a long heavy beak, and appears snowy white when its black-tipped wings are folded.

Mr. Hussain emphasized that inadequate information makes it impossible to be sure why so few Siberian cranes are wintering at Bharatpur, where record keeping is the best in the region.

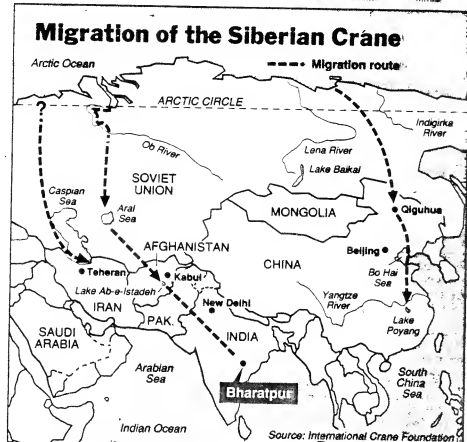
"We have to find a strategy to monitor the Siberian crane," he said. "We want the Indian Government to talk to the Soviet Government this year about a joint study. We want to send ornithologists to the Soviet Union to track the birds from there. Some may be going to other parts of India, where there is no monitoring."

Indian scientists hoping to learn more about the migratory habits of the crane before it is too late to save it from what appears to be a combination of dangers are looking forward to a meeting in the Soviet republic of Estonia in September.

"We need direct cooperation with the Soviet Union," Mr. Hussain said. Soviet experts have only recently begun to study the breeding patterns of the crane.



NYT 5/16



## 48 new schools to be set up in current year

The new academic year started in the cold regions of Afghanistan with the first lesson of peace. To provide further grounds for the generalization of education, this year the state of the Republic of Afghanistan plans to set up 48 new schools throughout the country. With this the number of schools of general education in the country will reach 1400.

In connection with the activities of the Education Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, a Kabul Times correspondent interviewed Mir Fakhruddin Fahim head of the Kabul city education department who answering a question said:

To effectively implement the teaching programmes, this year considerable changes have been brought in the education plan and teaching methods in schools.

Religious subjects have been added to the new education programme while subjects such as technical drawing, sociology and cultural programmes like music, etc have been omitted. For the 6-8 grades drawing and for the 11th and 12th grades subjects such as economics and general education have been added. The second-language teaching which was conducted in the third grade, now is conducted in the fourth grade. The teaching of the foreign language starts in the sixth grade while previously it was conducted in the fourth grade.

Teaching in the first, second and third grades is done by a single teacher and from 4th to 12th grades it is conducted by different teachers according to their major. The quarterly exams have been replaced by the mid-term and final exams. In the first to third classes daily evaluation is conducted. Teachers have to test the students at least four times up to the mid-term exams and the test will continue till the final examination. The average results of the tests in the

first half and the second are collected and then divided into two to achieve the final results.

Fakhruddin Fahim added: Last year the number of the school-graduates in the country reached 5210 persons. This year 23546 children have so far been admitted newly to schools and the admission process will last until the month of Saur (second month of the Afghan calendars).

Also we will bring an increase in the employment of teachers. This year 1400 graduates of the pedagogical education institutions have been employed as school teachers.

The head of the Kabul city education department said that this year the new academic year started with the lesson of peace. Teachers and students addressed messages to the UN Secretary General and the opposition field commanders. The first message called upon the UN Secretary General pressure to exert upon Pakistan to observe the Geneva agreements.

And the other message called on the opposition commanders inside Afghanistan and all the opposition forces to refrain from attacking the innocent and defenceless people, most of whom are children, and to stop disturbing the education process in the country. It has been noted in the message that the students are the sons of the muslim people of Afghanistan and of you the commanders. Then let them learn under peaceful atmosphere and serve their homeland.

Our department would try its best in this year to assess the course of teaching in schools through its methodic and education supervision directorates and establish contacts with the concerned departments for removing the shortcomings and solving the problems. Mr. Fahim said in conclusion.

(Baharat) KT 4/11

## Communists close Engineering Faculty of Kabul University

The Soviets closed the Faculty of Engineering at Kabul University as part of their campaign to Sovietize Afghan educational institutions.

This was stated by Dr. Ghulam Ahmad Nasir, the ex-professor of the Faculty of Engineering who now lives as a refugee in Peshawar.

The Faculty of Engineering of Kabul University was distinguished by high academic standards and anti-communist students.

The Faculty started with 200 student and 14 academic staff, eight American and six Afghan, in 1962.

In 1964 it moved to its new building which was provided with well-equipped laboratories. At the beginning the faculty was training students in general engineering but later it was divided into electrical engineering, Mechanical engineering, civil engineering, agricultural engineering and architecture departments.

It was an English medium school which used American books supplemented with notes provided by the staff.

At the beginning most of the engineering students came from the Afghan Institute of Technology but later students from other high schools also enrolled in the Faculty.

The Faculty of Engineering also accepted students from India, Iran and Middle East countries.

When Kabul University was politicized the Faculty of Engineering was not an exception. The majority of the students of the faculty were in favor of the Islamic movement. This was one of the reasons which made communists very angry and wanted to get rid of it.

The Soviets resented the academic relations between Kabul University and Western educational institutions, especially with those in the United States.

The Soviet Union offered assistance for the establishment of several Technical Schools in Afghanistan. The foundation stone of Kabul Polytechnic Institute was laid by Breznev in 1958. In 1964 the institute started to

function.

The pro-Soviet elements in the Ministry of Education started to push the idea of the merger of the Polytechnic and the faculty of Engineering. But a study by the experts showed that the two institutions had different purposes and no duplication was taking place.

When Daud came to power with the help of communist elements in 1973 the idea of the merger was raised again. The Faculty staff tried hard to convince Daud not to endorse the idea of the merger. Finally Daud decided to leave the two to function separately. But Daud asked the Faculty staff to increase the number of students from 400 to 2000 without increasing the number of staff and accommodation. It was an indirect way of subverting the faculty.

After the Soviet invasion the communists were in full control. They announced the merger of the Faculty of Engineering into the Polytechnic in 1982. Fresh students were accepted and in 1986 the Faculty was closed.

According to Dr. Nasir the building of the faculty was given to the military and its valuable facilities were taken away, probably to the Soviet Union.

A prestigious faculty which was serving the country by training young engineers was martyred by the Soviet invaders.

In reply to a question about reviving the faculty after liberation of the country from the communists' rule, Dr. Nasir said that with the help of International Rescue Committee a faculty of Engineering based on the same lines as the Faculty of Engineering of Kabul University has been set up in Peshawar which has 40 students in two classes. Once the country is liberated these students will shift to the faculty.

He believed all the staff of the faculty who have escaped the persecution of the communists, will return and help the revival of the faculty.

Dr. Nasir, 47, a native of Ghazni province is working as the technical consultant of the Danish Committee, a relief organization helping war affected Afghans.

5/1/89

AFGHANews Vol 5, No 9

# Politics Thrives on Kabul Campus

By Sheila Tefft

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

## KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

**K**ABUL UNIVERSITY mirrors much of the ideological warfare that convulses Afghanistan.

Two decades ago, this cool, shaded campus was the hotbed for left-wing reform and the communist movement that triggered a chain of events: the 1978 Marxist coup; the Muslim uprising; and the Soviet military occupation at shoring up the communist government. Students who squared off in political agitations now lead the pro-Soviet Kabul regime as well as the *mujahideen* guerrillas fighting Kabul.

Foreign observers say that much of Afghanistan's 11-year conflict is rooted in the political vortex of Kabul University. Even before King Mohammed Zahir Shah was deposed in 1973, the Afghan communists, many of them teachers and professors, were building their movement in this intellectual island, set apart from the conservative Islamic mainstream.

Afghanistans agree that the communists exploited student agitations and discontent over feudal attitudes and widespread poverty to overthrow Gen. Sardar Mohammed Daoud in 1978. Just after the uprising, the crackdown at the university began. In the turmoil leading up to the Soviet invasion in December 1979, many faculty and students were arrested and imprisoned.

"I was thrown out nine days after the coup and replaced by a member of the party," recalls Abdul Azimi, the university's former president who now lives in exile in Peshawar, Pakistan. "Within one and a half years, I had left the country."

Today, like much of this Afghan capital, the university wears a calm that masks deep unease. As students and professors stroll the campus, many others are secretly fleeing the country, its harsh living conditions, and the possibility of being drafted into the Army.

For those who remain, there is only uncertainty. Pockets of dissidents await a guerrilla offensive and hope the Kabul government will collapse. Many have opted for the tough life in Kabul, because they say life in Pakistan's refugee camps is bleaker and they could be forced to fight for fundamentalist guerrilla groups based there.

The university, founded in 1932, is a shadow of its former self. Hundreds of Afghan intellectuals have been killed, imprisoned, or fled abroad during the last decade, professors say. Stu-

dents complain that teaching and grading standards have deteriorated, and admissions and faculty promotions politicized.

Since the final pullout of Soviet troops in February, the overt Russian bent of the curriculum has been dropped. And like President Najibullah, the academics from his ruling party who run the institution play down the Soviet influence and renew Western ties.

Still, renewal at Kabul University remains clouded by civil war. "There's an inertia. No one knows what to do — professors, students, administrators — because of the economic situation and the security problems," says Wajid Adil, an agriculture lecturer who recently fled to Pakistan.

Today, there are 9,500 students, more than half of them women, and 580 teachers. That's two-thirds the size of the institution before the coup. Afghans in Peshawar say that 50 percent of the 950 faculty members in 1978 either disappeared or fled abroad.

"Unfortunately, we have been faced with the terrible phenomenon of lecturers fleeing," says Kamran Homayun, the university's chancellor, who was educated in the United States. "When we break out in a country, the intelligentsia is more sensitive and the first part of the society to react."

In the past two months, 15 top academics at the university secretly slipped away from Kabul to resurface in Pakistan. The exodus was apparently spawned less by political reasons than by the tough conditions in the Afghan capital and worries that the lecturers, who have a partial exemption from military duty, might be pressed into Army service.

"The situation was very tense in Kabul. It was no longer tolerable," says Hamidullah Amin, a British-trained professor and former dean of humanities. He left his family behind and took a grueling, circuitous route to avoid fighting and reach Peshawar.

However, Kabul intellectuals say that opting for exile in Pakistan is also an uncertain choice. Many are weary of the war and the police state. But they say they also are uneasy about powerful *mujahideen* fundamentalists who want to impose their own brand of extremism on Afghanistan.

Kabul University intellectuals head or work closely with the Afghan political parties in Peshawar. But others have gone overseas after being harassed by fundamentalists or lured by opportunities.

Last year, Professor Sayed Majrooh, director of the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar and a political moderate, was assassinated. Observers blamed the

murder on extremist groups.

The pro-Moscow regime erred by trying to impose a foreign ideology on a conservative, hostile population, observers say. But some intellectuals warn that reshaping Afghan society according to the dictates of conservative Muslim leaders is equally foolish.

**'S**OME of the intellectuals scattered around the world would be willing to come back. But the question is to what kind of homeland should they return?" says an Afghan intellectual who has been in Peshawar since 1980. "Afghans are Muslims. No one should doubt that. But in Afghan society, it is very hard to impose a dictatorship, no matter what kind it is."

Like President Najibullah, the regime-dominated administration at the university is holding out offers of reconciliation to intellectuals in exile.

The institution continues to send large numbers of lecturers to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for special courses. But the Soviet faculty advisers are gone, and the Soviet curriculum, including Marxist history and eco-

nomics, disappeared with the troops. University officials claim that promotions are now free from political interference and say they will step aside for a new administration chosen in elections.

"We are saying, 'Come and join new elections,'" says Dr. Homayun, who is a member of the ruling party. "But we will not tolerate our opponents and their supporters imposing something on us in advance."

However, reflecting the *mujahideen* refusal to deal with the Najibullah government, academics in exile say they will not return as long as the present university hierarchy remains in power. And there are growing worries that many intellectuals, now resettled in the West, will not return at all.

"In the last 10 years, we've lost everything in education," says Dr. Azimi, the former university president. "It will be extremely difficult to rebuild soon. It's not like construction of a building or a road. Those you can rebuild easily. But education takes time."

CSM 6/22

## In Kabul, English Is All the Rage

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

**A**T a busy education institute in central Kabul, more than 300 Afghan government employees study English daily.

In the past year — since the Soviet Union announced the end to its decade-long occupation of Afghanistan — enrollment at the school has jumped more than 50 percent. There are plans to expand the program to high-school teachers.

Foreign and Afghan observers here see the trend as a sign that Western influence is making a comeback. "With English, we know there will be more opportunities now," says a young television producer.

"There is a growing interest in English education," says Ross Mountain, an official of the United Nations, which now runs the former British-occupied language center. "We hope to use the school as the base to expand our education program in the future."

Despite the continued presence of large numbers of Soviet military advisers and

civilians in Afghanistan, foreign and local observers here say Russian influence is receding.

In a move to bolster its international standing, the government of President Najibullah has tried to distance itself from Moscow. For instance, Kabul University is trying to reestablish ties with American and other Western universities.

Recognizing the role of English in the planned massive reconstruction effort in Afghanistan, university and school students are clamoring to learn English, UN officials say. Although Russian was promoted as a second language for an entire generation of Afghans, Soviet influence is being challenged.

"The Russification of Afghanistan was a process of trial and error," says a Kabul University professor. "But people remained Afghans and showed much resistance."

Given this sentiment, the decision earlier this year by Western countries to close their embassies draws criticism from government officials and civilians.

"They could have kept the door to the West open," says one Afghan. "Instead the West has cut itself off."

CSM 6/22 — S. T.

EATING AFGHAN IN MANHATTAN  
by Mark Ginsburg

Despite the presence of 5 Afghan restaurants in Manhattan there is still no authentic Afghan food served to the public. The 5 restaurants, like the 7-party alliance in Peshawar, deploy what is essentially a common battle-theme-cum-menu, despite fierce competition amongst themselves; decor, primarily, separates one from another. The food, strictly speaking, is "Ameristani" or "Afghanican," depending on your priorities.

The main weapon, the stinger, of all 5 establishments remains the lowly, but time-honored, kebab. The kebobs at Pamir and Afghan Kebab House #2 (formerly Afghan Pizza Revolution), on the Second Avenue Ramparts of the Yupper East Side, are indistinguishable from those found at the Khyber Pass (formerly Caffé Kabul) in the thickets of St. Mark's Place in the East Village. Last year, the chef of Khyber defected to Caravan, up the road from Times Square. The kebobs are dependable, succulent and relatively cheap; the meat is usually very fresh and comes from halal butchers. Beef, lamb and chicken on skewers form the core of these menus; an Afghan waiter once told me that often the beef and lamb were the same. The kebobs are marinated, but as a concession to American palates they are underspiced. A jar of hot sauce or chutney is usually on the table as a remedy. The kebobs usually come fast, too; however, having pulled out the skewer, one is forced to navigate a minefield divided by rivulets of grease and pitted with chick peas - improvisatory maneuvers by the kitchen "mooj" trying to circumvent the days and hours of labor it would take a typical Afghan woman to prepare an honest meal for guests.

I always thought Americans liked rice. We grew up with Uncle Ben's, we consume and export vast quantities of rice, though per capita we could never approach the amount that Afghans eat at one sitting. Go to an Afghan home and you will be served a steaming mountain of basmati rice harboring tender morsels of lamb or chicken, a portion so large it's embarrassing. Eat at a few of the local Afghan restaurants and you'll probably receive a rather paltry quantity of tepid white rice that, if you've arrived towards the end of the evening, will have been reheated. Why the double standard? "Zamarud chala" or spinach rice, which is green from spinach water, is not so arduous to prepare and tastes delightful when fresh.

The "baunjaun-e-burane," an eggplant with yoghurt dish, suffers terribly because the eggplant has to be fried in oil initially, before being combined with the yoghurt and tomatoes. When the dish is ordered, perhaps a few hours after its preparation, or even the next day, the eggplant has to be refried to be reheated. Each session in the pan the eggplants act like a sponge soaking up the oil, finally they become greasy and acidic. I think it started at the Khyber Pass, nee Caffé Kabul, or at Pamir, the notion of fried Afghan appetizers served up like pakoras and samosas at local Indian restaurants. The appetizers serve as little profit centers in Afghan establishments that don't really require them as their entrees are turned out relatively quickly. The typical Afghan snack, "boulane," has been martyred at all of the local Afghan restaurants. The leek-filled pastry is made in Afghanistan with fresh dough; here, sheets of frozen Chinese eggroll dough are used, which produce a completely different texture and taste. Apparently rolling dough is too time-consuming a mission. Equally injurious is the miniscule filling, which on occasion is pumpkin. An interesting idea - if the pumpkin wasn't from a tin. It's just as well that the guys don't offer "mantu" on their menus. I'm sure it would be popular: fresh pasta filled with meat and onion that is steamed and then covered with a tomato puree. But the same Chinese eggroll dough would, thawed out, lend it the taste of a steamed Chinese dumpling.

The most egregious misnomer is, invariably, "Afghan bread." While the elongated shape of the flat loaf is reasonably authentic, the taste is bland and the texture chewy, on a good day, rubbery on a bad day. No effort has been made to replicate

the traditional bread, apart from its shape. But then the wrong flour is used and the wrong type of oven. Oddly, at Pamir the bread is served in bite-sized cubes. The others serve it in strips. I often eat at Kebob House #1, my favorite Afghan restaurant here. If you beg, they might just heat the "naan" for you; otherwise they'll serve it cold, just like the competition. "Afghan tea," by the way, has become a Lipton teabag in a little pot with a cardamom thrown in for good measure. The green tea is much more satisfying, and healthier for the digestive system.

It's worth asking what vegetable dishes might be available that aren't listed on the menu. Mercifully, the concept of rattling off a list of specials hasn't yet been adopted. They just don't tell you about them. I mention these points out of concern, not just nostalgia for homecooked Afghan food. One has a vague apprehension that a certain percentage of business might be related to the sympathy factor, which will invariably decline as the post-withdrawal Afghanistan is relegated to the back pages. In anticipation of such a possibility, it would behoove the "alliance" to aim to compete with well-regarded Indian restaurants, for example, rather than merely with each other. When executed properly, the Afghan cuisine can stand on its own.

#### Decor and Location:

PAMIR: the swankest of the alliance and most overtly "romantic." The carpets on the wall don't always look Afghan and the waiter can be a Bangla(deshi), but the atmosphere is suitably exotic in an old-time Beirut manner. Don't be put off if you're offered "elephant hair" for dessert. He really means "elephant ear," a large shapeless sugary wafer that's been fried crisp. The chairs look as if they'd been snatched from a boy's school refectory. 1437 Second Ave. (at 75th St.) (212) 650-1095.

KHYBER PASS: the most "westernized" as its owner has been here a long time. Therefore, nubile and friendly waitresses are the norm, usually from Europe and going to nearby NYU. Afghan cassettes are played and the prices are reasonable. Chickpeas are added indiscriminately to the entrees, possibly as a last ditch effort to give the heavy Afghan food a healthy, nutritional glow. 34 St. Mark's Place (212) 473-0989.

AFGHAN KEBOB HOUSE #1: Afghan taxi drivers come here, which is an endorsement. The decor is no-nonsense and practical with occasional references to the Jihad. While the food is reliable and good, the addition of a hideous oil portrait of Reagan near the kitchen transome makes it harder to digest. It's a smokey place so the rosy sheen of his nose and cheeks should darken with time. 764 9th Ave. (212) 307-1612.

ARIANA: across the street from AKH #1 and poised to accomodate the overflow from its neighbor. It's small and cosy. I've had good vegetable dishes there but better meat across the street. Ariana is relatively new so I can't attest to its consistency. 787 9th Avenue. (212) 262-2323.

CARAVAN: a large and tidy restaurant in a marginal but bustling neighborhood, very convenient for theater-goers and, therefore, a major find. The service is good and the place is peaceful. 741 8th Ave. (202) 262-2021.

AFGHAN KEBOB HOUSE #2: similar in spirit to AKH #1, but slightly more gentrified because of its yupper east side location, 1345 Second Ave. (212) 517-2776.

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When not eating at Afghan restaurants, Mark Ginsburg is a contributing editor of Vanity Fair.

#### NEW RESTAURANT IN VIRGINIA

An excellent new restaurant, PANJSHIR II, has opened in Vienna, Virginia, at 224 W. Maple Avenue. Panjshir, charmingly decorated in rose and cream, features appetizers priced from \$2.25 to \$3.25, and dinner entrees from \$8.25 to \$12.25, including naan and a house salad. Along with such standards as mantoo, aushak and various kebobs, there are dishes rarely found in Washington area Afghan restaurants, such as shalgam chalow and kadu.



Ablly managed by Dor M. Niaz, Panjsher II's hours are 11:30-2:30 for lunch and 5:00-10:00 for dinner. Lunch is served Monday through Saturday, while dinner is available seven evenings a week.

Toni Divens  
Vienna, Virginia

#### The Jan/Feb issue of AFGHANISTAN TODAY

Afghan food conjures images of the frontier — wild, rugged tribesmen feasting on young barbecued lamb after a tumultuous round of buzkashi, or delving into a camel's innards to pay hide-and-seek with a variety of roasted meat and fowl buried therein. All that has changed with time of course, but Afghan food still has enough regional specialisation to delight both adventurous and fastidious gourmets. It is a mouth watering mix of paradoxes, combining elements of Central Asia, China, Tibet, Iran and India, yet remaining essentially Afghan. A cuisine as varied and eclectic as the land itself, depicting the unique position it once occupied on the fabled Silk Route to China as a melting pot of cultures. Sometimes as raw and rugged as Afghanistan, yet as lavish and famous as its hospitality. A tradition that goes a-back to the past, when every traveller in this inhospitable terrain was received with a lavish repast as a thanksgiving for his safe arrival.

Man does not live by bread alone, but in Afghanistan one comes pretty close to it. Every dish is accompanied by the ubiquitous *nan* — a large, unleavened whole meal bread that is acclaimed by all foreigners who eat it as one of the world's greatest foods. This is because the dough is fermented, making the bread nutritious and wholesome. *Nan* is made mostly of wheat, and varies in shape and size in different regions. But it is also made of maize, barley, millet and even dried mulberries. As people say with pride: "anything that can be ground can be made into *nan*". It is baked in special clay ovens called "tandoor" after being slapped on to the inner wall for cooking. In addition there are special types of bread called "boloni" — half-moon-shaped wheat cakes filled with potatoes or leeks and deep fried. Eaten with "Dhog", a cold soup of yoghurt mixed with cucumber and mint leaves, "boloni" is a meal in itself.

Paradoxically for such a wheat-based diet, rice dishes called "pilau" are equally important. In fact the terms "nan" and "pilau" are both used to refer to food in general. A variety of almost inconceivable pilaus exist.

Kabuli pilau, spiced with raisin, almond and slivers of carrot with colours preserved despite cooking; Norange pilau with the tangy taste of citrus because fresh orange juice and rind are used in its preparation; sabzi pilau, emerald green in colour because it is cooked with a paste of spinach, leeks and fresh coriander leaf. Older generation gourmets still take nostalgically of "Kala Kacheh pilau", cooked with the head and legs of a sheep and served to honoured guests. But piece de resistance, especially in the Ghazni area, is the "Kattah pilau", in which young lamb is cooked whole, placed on a massive tray and served with a special pilau of rice, nuts and raisins. All pilaus are usually meat-based and served with meat in the centre and rice piled high around it. Garnished tastefully with colourful green salads, these are an artist's delight.

Pilau is usually eaten with "torsh", a mixture of fresh, baby eggplant, carrot and beans pickled in vinegar. Nature has been lavish in this rugged hill country with its varieties of dill, tarragon, lettuce, leek, cucumber, tomato, carrots and beans, and these are eaten fresh in abundance in salads that are meals in themselves. An altogether different type of rice dish, though not as fancy

carried this article on Afghan food:

in appearance as the long-grained pilau, is the "sholas", generally prepared from a thick, short-grained rice. "Shola-e-Ghorbandi" combines this rice with a few red chillies, and lentils served with a mutton curry (korma-e-ghosht) poured on top. "Shola-e-Shibit" includes rice, lentils, and red kidney beans, carrot and dill, which gives it an unusual flavour. "Kicheri-i-kurut" is another of these, a winter time favourite, in which rice and lentils are cooked together to a soft consistency and piled up into a mound over which are poured onions browned in oil.

In some areas bordering Pakistan side dishes called "korma" are sometimes served along with pilau. These are either with or without meat, and tomato-based.

While vegetable preparations are limited, a universal favourite is "Bonjon-e-Boroni": sliced, deep-fried egg-plant laid out on an onion-tomato base and sprinkled lightly with thick curds flavoured with garlic and mint leaves. It's original flavours and colours are preserved despite heavy frying, and the purple, red, white and green blend to make this dish a delightful sight.

Kababs, another important part of Afghan cuisine, are usually skewered cubes of mutton and fat broiled over hot charcoal. The Afghan "Shami kabab" is a variation of the Kashmiri variety, made of minced meat with an admixture of potatoes and eggs. It is also roasted on skewers. "Chapli Kabab" is shaped so as to resemble a slipper, and is something like a speed hamburger, and the "Lola Kabab" has a pronounced garlic base.

But like the European, Afghan food is also based on a variety of hot soups called "Shorwa" eaten with *nan*. "Mashawar" is a meal by itself, complete with meat balls, lentils, beans, rice and tomatoes. And in earlier days the northern Uzbeks would make a hearty cattle blood soup cooked with tomatoes.

A minestrone type soup called "Aush" reminds one of the pasta link with China and Italy, complete with noodles, mince and vegetables. Also "Ausëak" is reminiscent



The "Lucky Five Restaurant" in Kabul

# ORGANIZATIONS

AFGHAN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC., 2315 S. Grant St., Arlington, VA 22202, (703) 521-8025.

ACS began as a group of concerned volunteers, both Afghan & American, who recognized the many needs within the refugee community. They began by providing assistance in such activities as translations, transportation, temporary housing, services referrals, immigration questions, language classes, job placements & family, school & career counseling.

In October 1988 the group received a grant from the Federal Gov't Refugee Program for a job placement project. With this funding the ACS has hired 2 part-time employment counselors & is providing this service to immigrant Afghans. Future plans include the acquisition of necessary office staff, a full employment & career counseling program, language/tutoring classes, an emergency hotline, an orientation program for new arrivals, a community newsletter & increased services to the young and the elderly. Anne Macey is the Executive Director; Noorullah Ghafoori, Moh'd M. Safa, Rahim Aziz, Habiba Karimi & Pat Clapp are the board members.

"We are still humble & spend a lot of our time just serving the most elemental of local needs. We are almost entirely volunteer & never seem to spend enough time in the necessary funding activities. People donate a lot of in-kind services and goods to our office so we get by. But we've found that there's a lot to do & plenty of room for expansion. Most Afghans, however, need salaries & for this reason have not been able to do extensive volunteering. If we would only stop long enough to raise some money, we could be quite a busy center & unique to the area." [If other similar organizations have found a solution to this problem, let Anne Macey at the above address know. Or send a check!]

THE AFGHANISTAN RESISTANCE RELIEF CENTER, 7446 Adams Park Court, Annandale, VA 22003 is another very small

volunteer organization which has been working to help Afghan refugees during the past few years. The ARRC is now trying to raise funds to build a children's hospital inside Afghanistan to aid the children who have been victims of war wounds & the diseases that accompany life denied basic medical care. If you are asked at your place of work to contribute to the UNITED WAY campaign & you wish to contribute to the Afghan children's cause, it will be necessary for you to write AFGHANISTAN RESISTANCE RELIEF CENTER in the blank space on your United Way card. For further information, write to either Rusty or Dana Rawding at the above address.

UNHCR & OPERATION SALAM - from "Refugees," March 1989:

For the moment, there is no question of halting the substantial assistance and protection programme which UNHCR is operating in Pakistan and Iran. And since it is impossible to predict any imminent refugee movements, it was decided to reinforce the organization's preparations for a possible repatriation.

The vaccination campaigns and technical training courses which began in early 1988 will be given added momentum in the next few months.

"We must make the most of the facilities we have built up in the asylum countries, so as to give the refugees new skills," explains René van Rooyen. UNHCR Representative in Pakistan.

"Over the years," he continues, "fully-equipped vocational training workshops have been set up throughout the 300 refugee villages scattered across Pakistan. If you stop and think about the immensity of the task of rebuilding an entire country, you will see that any qualifications the Afghans have been able to acquire in exile are going to prove invaluable."

Voluntary repatriation, although still uncertain, remains the principal scenario envisaged by UNHCR in evolving its action plan. Even if, as anticipated, the majority of returns are spontaneous, painstaking preparations are required. . . .

As part of its protection activities, UNHCR's Division of Refugee Law and Doctrine has already launched training courses and seminars on the principles and procedures of voluntary repatriation. Attendance is not restricted to UNHCR staff; governmental partners and non-governmental organizations can also participate. And in Pakistan, UNHCR has set up a monitoring system to deal with the problems of protection and the spontaneous movements of returnees that have already begun.

As for the substantive preparations for a possible large-scale return, they include the pre-positioning of foodstocks and other basic items which are crucial when any displacement of people takes place. Special attention is given to the needs of the most vulnerable: young children, pregnant women, the elderly and the war-wounded, of whom there are many.

Stocks of relief items will be built up, not only in Pakistan and Iran, but also inside the Afghan borders. This is particularly important, because in certain instances UNHCR will also be offering assistance to displaced persons who are returning to the same areas as the returnees.

Before all this can happen, however, support centres must be established within what UNHCR considers priority areas - those to which the majority of refugees will be returning. These areas are located along the borders with Pakistan and Iran, in the form of a crescent running from Herat to Kunar.

The most urgent task is to identify these areas and the sites within them where the support centres are to be based. Between now and July, quite independently of the SALAM missions (see REFUGEES No. 61, February 1989), UNHCR foresees despatching a number of its officials to undertake preliminary assessments and to establish initial contacts with local authorities.

UNHCR will, of course, be counting a great deal on the support of the Afghans themselves. "We are there to offer them the support they will need in returning home, resettling and rebuilding their nation," states Juan Amunátegui, head of the Regional Bureau for South-West Asia, North Africa and the Middle East. "But their future lies in their own hands."

ANNICK BILLARD

of the same area. These are small, half-moon shaped steamed cakes filled either with leeks, mince or cheese. And adapted apparently from Tibet where a similar dish goes by the same name, is "mantu" — steamed meat dumplings.

Mutton dishes cooked in the traditional manner have a distinctive flavour because sheep's tail fat "dumba" is used as lard and tenderiser. Fat is a status symbol and is used to compensate for the lack of spices in the food. It is also a valuable source of energy in the long, cold winter months.

Cakes and pastries also play an important part as light snacks. "Busroq" is pastry rolled into shell-like shapes and then deep fried; "Rote" are large round biscuits half an inch thick and sprinkled with "sia dana" (black seeds), and "Gharlai" is a most appetising pastry, a layered affair in which very thin dough is browned in successive layers, each layer being added to the other till a thick circle of three to seven layers is ready. Then it is cut into wedges and sprinkled with sugar. Served piping hot with tea it is an ideal breakfast dish in winter.

Tea or "choi" is the in-between drink and also an after-meal beverage. It is brewed either with black or green leaves, again showing the unique position of Afghanistan on the crossroads of Asia and Europe. Tea is drunk in vast quantities, each person having a pot to himself. It is drunk hot, usually without milk, but with plenty of sugar. In fact honoured guests are served extra large helpings of sugar as an expression of welcome. Traditionally, three rounds of tea were mandatory for every visitor. Tea drinking is elaborately ritualised, bringing to mind the tea ceremonies of Japan. A most unusual drink is the little known "Kaimak choi" (cream tea), prepared with a very strong solution of green tea which has been previously well boiled, slightly cooled when poured and repoured from one vessel into another from a height of about six feet till it turns dark pink in colour. Rich milk is then added, then the mixture is boiled again after which the tea is flavoured with cream, rose water and cardamom powder.

These are but a few of the varieties of Afghan cuisine. They can be multiplied dozens of times over in different sections of the country as each area has its own favourites and it is not possible to deal with all varieties in a short article. Suffice it to say that these are just the broad outlines. But throughout, Afghan food manages a delicate balance between western and eastern cuisine, which is basically what Afghanistan is, and so the cuisine is representative of the country.

## Afghan food makes debut

Mousa Amiri can tell you the exact date (November 28, 1983) that he and most of his family arrived in the United States.

Another date he'll remember is May 4, the day the Amiris will celebrate the grand opening of their **Shish Kebab House of Afghanistan** on Franklin Avenue in Hartford.

"We always wanted to have an Afghan restaurant since we came to the U.S.," says Rahim Amiri, Mousa's brother.

The Shish Kebab House is the culmination of the Amiri family's efforts to begin a new life in America. They were well-to-do in Afghanistan until the Soviets invaded in 1979. Then the family lost everything, and eventually fled the country.

Relocating in Hartford, where the family had some friends, they bought a Chicken Delight franchise in Hartford's North End in 1984.

They changed the name to **Amiri's Fried Chicken** and operated the business for almost five years.

The Amiris sold the property and used the money to invest in the Shish Kebab House.

The Shish Kebab House is a 50-seat restaurant decorated simply with beaded curtains, framed pictures of Afghanistan and small, Afghan-style carpets under the glass-topped tables. The menu is composed almost entirely of kebabs seasoned with spices common to Afghan cooking: garlic, peppers, saffron, onion and mild curry.

The lunch menu includes: Shammli Kebab (spicy ground beef with special seasoning), Beef, Lamb, Veal, Chicken, Swordfish and Beef Sausage Kebabs. Also offered are Mantoo (steamed noodles filled with mildly spicy meat and onion, topped with peas, beans and flavored sauce), Afghan Noodle Soup and Pea Soup. Prices range from \$1.95 to \$5.45.

For dinner, appetizers include Samosas (fried noodles filled with spicy meat, potato and vegetable), Pakawra (sliced potatoes dipped in batter and fried crispy) and Bowlsani (crispy flat noodles filled with seasoned potatoes and meat).

The entire selection includes the wide variety of kebabs plus Scallop and Shrimp. The "Sultan's Dinner," called Palow, is rice with seasoned beef, almonds, raisins and carrots served with vegetable and meatballs. Entree prices range from \$8.45 to \$12.95.

Desserts are Fernee (an Afghan milk pudding with cardamom and pistachios), Jilebby (Afghan crispy wafers dipped in sweet sauce) and the All-American Mud Pie. Prices range from \$2.15 to \$2.95.

The Shish Kebab House is at 360 Franklin Ave., Hartford. Service is continuous Monday through Thursday from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Friday and Saturday until 10 p.m. The dinner menu begins at 5 p.m. The restaurant is closed Sunday.

For information phone 727-1138.  
THE HARTFORD COURANT May 3, 1989

The owners of PAMIR (see p.28) have opened PAMIR II at 85 Washington Avenue, Morristown, NJ. The telephone number is (201) 605-1095.

AFGHANISTAN TODAY 1/89

Radha

## PEOPLE

### A cellist and a princess bride

Julian Lloyd Webber, the cellist and brother of composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, said yesterday in London that he is engaged to an Afghan princess.

Lloyd Webber, 38, said the bride-to-be is **Zohra Ghazi**, 25, whose great-uncle is the exiled **King Zahir Shah**.

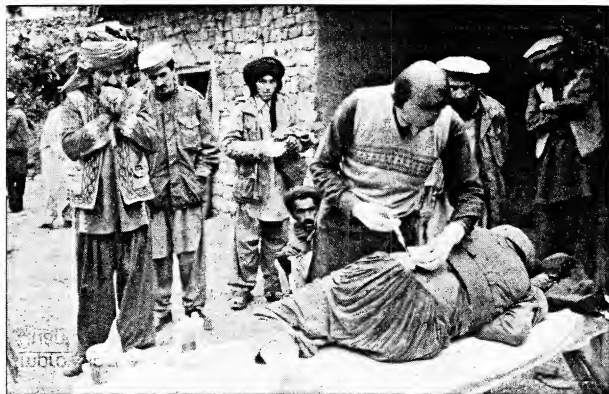
"Zohra is a new inspiration in my life and we are both thrilled to be getting married," said Lloyd Webber, whose divorce from his first wife, **Celia Ballantyne**, became final seven weeks ago.

Princess Zohra said the couple will have a Moslem wedding, and then a Christian wedding in London on July 1.



British cellist Julian Lloyd Webber, younger brother of composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, and his bride-to-be, Afghan princess Zohra Ghazi, announced their wedding plans in London yesterday.

Associated Press



Hasan Nouri, one of the founders of the International Medical Corps, at left, watches as medical care is administered at one of 50 clinics set up by IMC in Afghanistan.

## Engineer Helps Turn Fighters into Healers

For Hasan Nouri, the war in Afghanistan is far from over. When the Soviets invaded his native country in December 1979, Nouri, who was living in southern California, sought — and found — a way to fight back.

A civil engineer who heads up his own Irvine, Calif. consulting firm, Nouri is one of the founders of the International Medical Corps, a private organization that takes medical aid to Afghans inside that country and in refugee camps across its border in Pakistan. Today, hidden in the mountains of Afghanistan, there are some 50 IMC clinics where villagers and warriors alike come for medical aid. The five-year-old operation came about when a California doctor, Robert Simon, sought advice from Nouri about the possibility of designing caves for medical supplies in the hills of the beleaguered country. The result was the IMC, funded largely by the U.S. Agency for International Development (US AID), where volunteer U.S. doctors train Afghan fighters in Pakistan to return to their own country to administer medical treatment to the victims of war.

Nouri, a member of ASCE since 1975, has returned to Afghanistan under cover several times since the IMC was founded to chart its progress. He was born in that country; the son of a diplomat, and received a B.S. degree in civil engineering from the University of Kabul. When his father was posted to the Afghan embassy in Washington, Nouri used the opportunity to settle in the U.S., where he earned another CE degree at Georgia Tech. Before forming Rivertech Inc., of which he is president, in 1983, Nouri had gained a solid block of experience in flood control and water resources projects working for such firms as Dames and Moore and Camp Dresser McKee.

Although the Soviet forces have withdrawn from Afghanistan, the *mujahidin* freedom fighters have continued their war against the Moscow-backed government. And though the IMC clinics are still functioning, the need for them will eventually lessen as the war winds down. Now Nouri is looking

ahead once more to the reconstruction period still to come. He and another Afghan-American, Frydoon Shairzay, have come up with an idea for a pilot project for resettling Afghan villages destroyed during the 10 years of fighting. In that vein, he hopes to engage ASCE's International Activities Committee (IAC) to help in recruiting consultants, contractors and volunteers to aid in the project. He sees the IAC as the possible nucleus of an international engineering society that would channel resources and locate personnel to aid in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Said Nouri, "ASCE is the most qualified society to take the lead in forming such a group because it represents engineers in the most technologically advanced country with a long history of helping other nations. I believe civil engineers can accomplish such goals because we have always been able to cut through politics and facilitate actions toward solutions." Nouri will meet with the committee next month in Minneapolis to present his proposal.

Civil engineer Hasan Nouri, in mufti, comforts a refugee child on his foray into Afghan territory held by the mujahidin freedom fighters.



## Afghan In Look And Taste

Men in traditional Afghan costume greeted 400 guests at the Ambassadors' Ball for Afghanistan Tuesday night at the Plaza. More than \$75,000 was raised for the Afghanistan Relief Committee, which provides humanitarian aid.

"We are lucky enough to have all the former American ambassadors to Afghanistan from the past 20 years on the committee," said Sonia Cole, who fled Afghanistan after the Soviet invasion in 1979. Mrs. Cole organized the ball. The United States maintains diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, but does not have an ambassador there.

Peter Duchin's orchestra kept everyone out on the dance floor between courses of Afghan specialties like eggplant, lamb and rice. There was also a silent auction, with guests bidding on, among other things, a flight to Morocco. All aboard for Casablanca.

NYT 5/14



Photographs for The New York Times by BILL CONNINGHAM

RIGHT Sonia Cole, the hostess for the Ambassadors' Ball, greeting Denise De Luca and Dan Camp, seated at dinner at the Plaza.

From "Doctoral Dissertations on Asia," compiled & edited by Frank Joseph Shulman, Vol. 11, Nos. 1 & 2, Winter/Summer 1988, published by the Association for Asian Studies.

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"Sky Train Invasion" by Wilfred Deac in MODERN WARFARE (Empire Press, 105 Loudon St., S.W., Leesburg, VA 22075), Vol. 1, #1. July 1989. Pp. 19-25.

AFGHANISTAN IN THE WORLD PRESS #37, March 1989, published by the Afghan Jihad Works Translation Centre (P.O. Box 417 GPO, Peshawar), contains translations of articles by Leon Poullada, Donatella Lorch & Anthony Arnold.

Fascicules 107-108: Mar<sup>C</sup>ashī's - Māsardjawayh & Fascicules 109-110: Māsardjawayh - Masrah of THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM, edited by C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs & Ch. Pellat, are available from E.J. Brill, 24 Hudson St., Kinderhook, NY 12106, for \$30 each.

Fasc. 107-108: 1989. 26.5 x 18 cm.  
(pp. 513-640, 2 fig., fold map)  
ISBN 90 04 09082 7

Fasc. 109-110: 1989. 26.5 x 18 cm.  
(pp. 641-768, 3 fig.)  
ISBN 90 04 09084 3

"Refugee & Exile Publishing in Western Europe" by Michael Albin in COLLEGE & RESEARCH LIBRARIES NEWS, May 1989.

"A Tribute to the late Dr. Louis Dupree was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol 135, #52, 5/2/89, by Senator Gordon Humphrey.

The German monthly GESCHICHTE's May 1989 issue is devoted to Afghanistan. Articles include "Rückzug Aus Kabul," "Dorn im Auge Der Giganten," "Allah Zu Ehren," "Eine Nation Erwacht," "Ein Staat Und Viele Stämme," "Kaiser Wilhelm's Kühner Plan," "Die Reformen Des Amanullah," "Afghanistan 1945-78," "Invasion Und Rückzug," as well as articles on lapis lazuli, food, & an interview with Paul Bucherer-Dietschi of Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanistanica.

The April 1989 issue of AFGHANISTAN INFO, published by the Swiss Committee for Afghanistan, contains articles by Olivier Roy, Mushahid Hussain, Sayed Qassem Reshtia. Laurent Carrel, Pierre Centlivres, Gilbert Etienne, Michael Casimir, Jean-Jose Puig & Paul Castella.

"Afghanistan in 1989" by Robert G. Neumann in the SCORPION NEWSLETTER #9, April 1989. Pp. 6-7. Martin Royeen has an article in the same issue: "For Kabul's, Life Goes On, Prices Go Up." Pp. 5, 13. [The SCORPION is published by the Kabul Int'l High School/American Int'l School of Kabul Reunion Committee.]

"L'Agriculture Afghane Après Neuf Ans de Guerre" by Daniel Jurt in ETUDES POLITIQUES, 3/89. Pp. 2-3.

"Der SOI-Hilfsfonds für Afghanistan" in ZEITBILD 8/89. Pp. 12-16. AFGHANISTAN AUGENZEUGEN UNERWUNSCHT, an SOI publication is available from Einsenden an Buchhandlung SOI, Postfach, 3000 Bern 6, Switzerland.

"Pakistan & the US: Partners After Afghanistan" by Rodney Jones in THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, V. 12, #3, Summer 1989. Pp 65-87.

"How General Zia Went Down" by Edward Jay Epstein in VANITY FAIR, June 1989. Pp. 42-60. What caused the mysterious crash? Who did it? Why was there a cover-up? The author says that truth was another casualty in the crash; however, this account of his efforts to find it is fascinating.

"Fighting for Jalalabad" by Marin Strmecki in THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR, June 1989. Pp. 30-31.

FARM POWER, the 2nd report of the Agricultural Survey of Afghanistan, was issued in April by the SWEDISH COMMITTEE FOR AFGHANISTAN. G.P.O. 689, Peshawar, Pakistan. 56 + 9 pp., map & graphs.

VISIBLE RELIGION, Annual for religious iconography, Vol. 6, 1988, has an article by U. Jäger:

"Buddhistische Ikonographie und nomadische Herrscherrepräsentation — zum sogenannten 'Jäger-König' von Kakrak bei Bamiyān/Afghanistan."



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE TRAGEDY OF AFGHANISTAN, Raja Anwar, New York, Verso Press, 1988. Translated from the Urdu by Khalid Hasan, with an introduction by Fred Halliday. 286 pp., copious end notes & index (sort of).

This is a fascinating book, one that will cause controversy for years to come among close followers of the Soviet-Afghan drama. Those who share the author's political views will extol its "objectivity," citing his free-wheeling criticism of some communist and virtually all non-communist opinion. But giving offense across a broad spectrum does not equate to objectivity, and Anwar's below-the-belt blows at rival observers do no credit to him or to the book. Nevertheless, it is well worth reading, if only because of its apparently first-hand coverage of recent Afghan politics.

Technically, it ranges from the superb to the abominable. The translation reads as if it had been originally composed by an Oxford graduate; it is an excellent, professional job and makes the book easy to read. But if the translation is sublime, the index is ridiculous, covering perhaps 10-20% of the individuals mentioned in the text. Moreover, the sourcing is spotty. In at least one instance (the reviewer's book, Afghanistan's Two-Party Communism: Parcham & Khalq, Hoover Institution Press), Anwar consistently gets both title and publisher wrong. Inasmuch as the work is cited as a source more than 10 times (and indirectly by citing the identical subsources many more times), the error is at best a scholarly howler.

Turning to substance, Anwar makes impressive claims as an authority on his subject, having had access to leading figures in both the Parchami and Khalqi wings of the PDPA during the critical 1977-1984 years. The first-hand account of intrigue, successful and unsuccessful coups, and the Soviet invasion makes fascinating reading. This is not, however, to say that the book is accurate, complete, truthful or objective, for it is none of the above. In addition, there are grounds for suspecting that the author was less than candid concerning his own role and activities while he was gathering his information.

For example, he refuses to discuss why the Afghan authorities jailed him from October 1980 until March 1983. His home for most of this period was the notorious Pul-e-Charkhi prison (the "lost luggage department" for vanished Afghans and foreigners, in one of the book's happier turns of phrase). He maintains that "countless hunger strikes" produced for him remarkable concessions from the authorities, including freedom to wander about and speak with leading Khalqi and resistance-fighter prisoners, and ready access to pens and paper. He claims to have shared cells with some of these sources and to have overheard the interrogations of others, which conveniently transpired just the other side of a flimsy partition from his cell.

Even in Pul-i-Charkhi's somewhat chaotic environment, these claims are hard to credit. Anwar's status as a foreign leftist (he reputedly belongs to the left wing of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP]) might possibly have induced prison authorities to grant him some minor luxuries and freedoms, depending on the charge for which he was jailed. It is most improbable, however, that they would have allowed their most famous and sensitive inmates, the Khalqi leadership, whose fate they had concealed from their own citizens and whose jailings they had not even acknowledged, to consort with a note-taking foreigner. Other graduates of Pul-i-Charkhi have stated that their Khalqi co-inmates, if any, were so isolated that none of the other prisoners knew their identities. Yet Anwar says he had either first-hand or reliable second-hand information on virtually all the jailed survivors of Hafizullah Amin's Central Committee.

Perhaps even more astonishingly, Anwar claims to have had close connections with leading Afghan security officials before, after, and even during his confinement.

For example, he describes various meetings with 4 security chiefs and their deputies while at large during the Khalqi period (1978-79). While in Pul-i-Charkhi, he was temporarily shifted to a central Kabul Jail "to enable him to meet Dr. Najibullah" (Fn.50, p. 270), and in March 1983, it was today's Minister of State Security, Yaqubi, who personally brought him the glad tidings of his release. Afterwards, Anwar boasts of intimate contacts with both Yaqubi and Najibullah as well as with other KHAD operatives such as Dr. Bahar, responsible for conducting splitting operations against the resistance. For an ex-jailbird, his range of high-level, sensitive contacts was, to put it mildly, remarkable.

And yet, there is little reason to doubt that Anwar had direct and/or excellent second-hand access to both the prisoners and the government officials he names. One can point to various errors and inconsistencies, but his familiarity with the Parcham-Khalq controversy and with developments in the country is clearly based on solid fact. The main questions are under whose auspices he achieved this familiarity and whether deliberately false embellishments have been added to make a political point.

Is this disinformation? It is not enough to deny such a charge by pointing to his criticism of both Soviet and Afghan policies - very often disinformation contains such criticism just to allay suspicion - but what is lacking is the truly convincing, professionally handled Big Lie that would make it all worthwhile. The closest thing to it is Anwar's generally consistent theme that the USSR has always behaved legally in respect to Afghanistan - that there have been unfortunate errors and stupidities but no real crimes.

Some of the more obvious examples of Anwar's warping of history include the following:

- Distancing of the USSR from the Parchami coup plot against the Taraki/Amin regime in August 1978. Contrary to Anwar, the Khalqis did not claim that the US or China sponsored the conspirators but obliquely accused the USSR of it. He conceals probable Soviet involvement in the pre-coup communications among the foreign-based plotters with the unrealistic claim that Babrak had laid all necessary plans in early July, just before he was pushed into diplomatic exile. Later, Anwar undercuts this story by revealing that the Afghan Ambassador to New Delhi, Pacha Gul Wadfadar, was asked to collaborate with the conspirators at the last moment, but instead blew the plot to Taraki. (Who passed the information to Wadfadar, and why did they mistake his true allegiance?)
- The astonishing allegation that it was a KGB adviser to the Afghan security service who, on hearing of that service's attempt to assassinate Amin in the summer of 1979, undertook to warn Amin of the attempt, even though the USSR strongly disapproved of his way of running the country and favored the more flexible Parchami approach. (Pp. 166-7)
- Similarly, the refusal of Soviet air force advisers at Bagram air base to permit Afghan pilots to launch their aircraft to support the failed October 1979 plot to overthrow Amin.
- The stubborn insistence that the December 1979 Soviet invasion was at Amin's invitation. Anwar returns to this on several occasions and from several different angles, basing his conclusion largely on alleged conversations with Khalqis and the circularly logical concept that "the arrival of the Soviet army during Amin's time confirms that it did so in response to his request." (P. 200)
- The truly mind-boggling concept, refuted by countless first-hand accounts of victims, that KGB advisers to KHAD after the invasion just tried and tried to convince their Afghan counterparts to "employ more humane interrogation techniques." (P. 225)

But Anwar undercuts the validity of his whole implied argument by underscoring Soviet pre-invasion meddling in and manipulation of Afghanistan: Moscow's "ardent desire" for reconciliation between Parcham and Khalq dating from their first (1967) split (p. 55); the unignorable "Soviet pressure" to effect that reconciliation in 1976 and 1977 (p. 85), thus permitting the anti-Daoud coup in 1978; the very ability of Soviet

military advisers at Bagram to forbid the Afghan pilots to launch their aircraft in October 1979, which bespeaks Afghan loss of sovereignty over their own arms two months before the invasion. There are also silly little obfuscations that seem designed to distance the author from the Soviets: the consistent misspelling of their names (Punzanov for Puzanov as the Soviet ambassador, for example), and the failure to mention the biggest "adviser" of them all, Vassily Safronchuk, reputedly a KGB officer who maintained his office next to Taraki's.

One is left with the impression that this book may have started out as a piece of Soviet or ROA disinformation, but that somewhere along the line the careful control that should go into such an effort was lost or abandoned. In the process, a good deal of throw-away information (e.g., details of coup plotting) was released without the concomitant benefit of a convincing disinformation message. The result is an interesting melange of the believable (most of the negative information about the PDPA, some of it new), the questionable, and the clearly tendentious/false.

Accurate interpretation of the last category may yield new insights on the truth by a sort of reverse political engineering: what is being concealed or distorted and to what end? It makes an intriguing puzzle. And we get some new insights on the Afghan left, even if complicated by the absence of an adequate index. The book is definitely worth reading - if not blindly accepting.

Anthony Arnold  
Novato, California

UNDER A SICKLE MOON, A JOURNEY THROUGH AFGHANISTAN, Peregrine Hodson, New York, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987. (First published in Great Britain by Hutchinson, London, 1986.)

When students and historians in the 21st century write books and monographs on the 20th century Afghan-Russian war, it will be interesting to see the bibliographies. This reviewer hopes that Under a Sickle Moon will be included in some of them.

Peregrine Hodson, Abdul Baz to the Afghans - who found Peregrine a bit hard to swallow, chooses his words carefully to describe the destruction and hardship caused by a war fought by people fueled by unwavering faith and an inherent independence, who watched their land be destroyed by forces largely beyond their control.

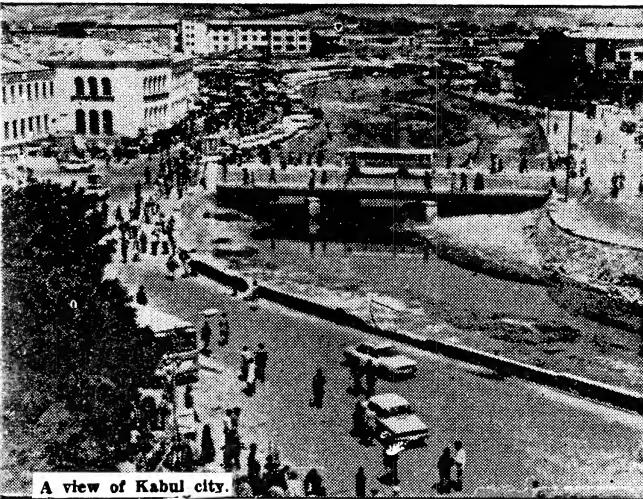
Hodson traveled in north-eastern Afghanistan - Logar, Wardak, Bamiyan, Samangan, Baghlan, Takhar, Kunar and Nuristan - in the summer and fall of 1984 to write a story on the "people's war" for a London paper. Although not a professional journalist, he had read Oriental Studies and studied Persian at Merton College, Oxford.

At the time of his trek, the mujahideen had few defensive weapons against Soviet air power and much of the area he traveled in, especially the Panjshir, was under constant bombardment. While probably more adaptable than many of the foreigners who slogged through Afghanistan looking for a cause, excitement or a story, Hodson remained, in spite of his beard and Afghan clothes, a Christian, Anglo-Saxon observer. He comments on tea houses, fleas, fleeting friendships, the attitudes of many of the Afghans he meets. "...I talked with people about many things: the price of corn and Persian poetry, the swiftness of horses and the thousand names of God. Sometimes we talked of the war." This book brings the atmosphere of the war to the outsider.

The first American edition of this lovely memoir came out in 1987. We are sorry it took us so long to catch up with it.

Mary Ann Siegfried  
New York, NY

# THE KABUL TIMES



A view of Kabul city.

## Orfan publishing House puts out textbooks for Afghan students

Following the celebration of Afghan new year (1368) and beginning of academic year, the Afghan students are to get new textbooks.

To meet the demand of students in this regard, the Orfan Publishing House of Tajikistan has printed 200 thousand copies of geography, history of Afghanistan and literature in Dari language as per the order of the RA.

Abdul Wase Sanginov chairman of Orfan Publishing house told the Tass correspondent that it is the third order of the RA for printing textbooks. He added that in the course of the past two years, our publishing house has printed 30 methodic and textbooks in Dari, language which have been delivered

red as gratis aid to the RA.

Similarly, Orfan Publishing House has also meet the need of Afghan orphaned children who are studying in Tajikistan.

Sanginov added that the encyclopedia of the terminology and terms under the title of 'Afghanistan Today' and the characteristic of the contemporary Afghan poetry 'Defenders of Afghan poets' have also been published by Orfan publishing house which have attracted the attention of readers.

The translation of these books from Russian language have been completed with all-sided cooperation of Afghan writers and scholars.

3/28 (BIA)

## Council of Ministers discusses socio-economic problems

KABUL, APR. 11, (BIA)

The session of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers was held yesterday afternoon in the headquarters of the council of ministers with Sultan Ali Keshmand chairman of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers in the chair.

The session discussed a number of socio-economic issues and adopted necessary decisions in this regard.

The session reviewed the improvement of education in the schools of the Republic of Afghanistan and pointed out that special measures have been implemented recently toward the establishment of a national and progressive system of education in Afghanistan. General policy and objectives of education in the country were fixed and the special education issues in the present socio-economic conditions explained in the normative documents. The new system of education was formulated and implemented in practice. Definite measures were implemented also in compiling and publishing of the text books and supply of teaching materials. New system was formulated for training teachers and measures were implemented in the expansion of the pre-school education institutions and resurgence and equipping of schools. Despite the great works accomplished, there are certain problems emerged from the lack of care and attention of the related organs in the expansion of education. The session discussed the deficits and shortcomings in the state of education in the schools and endorsed a resolution in this regard. Special duties were given in this session on the improvement of education in schools to the Ministry of Education and other related organs.

Similarly, the session discussed the improvement of work conditions and activities of scientists, teachers and physicians. The session pointed out that despite providing lots of facilities in education system and establishment of Herat and Balkh universities, expansion of Kabul and Nangarhar universities establishment of Kabul state medical institute, promotion of teachers training college to pedagogical institutes, expansion of programmes for master degree and doctor of philosophy inside the country, specific measures should be adopted on providing further facilities in the improvement of work conditions and activities of the scientists, teachers and physicians of the country.

The session decided that a commission

consisting of a number of ministers under the chairmanship of the deputy prime minister should be set up to assess the related issues in this regard and this commission is duty bound to submit during one month the draft of the resolution of the council of ministers in this regard to the council of ministers.

4/12

consisting of a number of ministers under the chairmanship of the deputy prime minister should be set up to assess the related issues in this regard and this commission is duty bound to submit during one month the draft of the resolution of the council of ministers in this regard to the council of ministers.

## Party members move to Jalalabad

KABUL, MAR 12 (RIA) Hundreds of the militant members of the PDPA and the DYOA of Kabul city party organisations and provincial committee of Kabul province left voluntarily to Kabul for Nangarhar province to defend the independence, national sovereignty and to repel the treacherous interferences of the extremists and shameless

## Polikhumri district promoted

The presidential office reports that esteemed Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the article 75 (2) of the constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, has signed the resolution No. 492 dated 10.12.1367 of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan on the promotion of Polikhumri district to a province and bringing up a new administrative unit in the name of New Baghlan district.

3/30

ss aggression of Pakistani militia and commandos

3/18

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# Almas Beauty Parlour

The female beautician is a new breed of private entrepreneur in Afghanistan, having entered the world of commercial business only in the past decade. Earlier, beauticians had confined their activities to the homes of the rich. In any case they were few in number and had not diversified and expanded their activities on a commercial scale.

Today the scenario is entirely different. Almost every street in Kabul boasts of either a complete beauty parlour, or at least a hairdressing salon. Suddenly these establishments have mushroomed and are doing roaring business, a testimony both to female emancipation and female entrepreneurship. The popularity of these parlours is a constant source of wonder, and shows how aware the average Afghan woman is of herself and the need to emphasise her individual identity.

In order to find out what makes such entrepreneurship tick, we spent a day at "Almas" ("Diamond") — sleek beauty parlour in downtown Kabul, owned by Sohaila Jan. At 23, she is a well-established business woman, employing four girls who are both trained and trainee beauticians, and conducts a profitable business from her one-room parlour.

It is 10 a. m. and there are already over 25 women being attended to. Sohaila tells us that from the beginning hair cutting, hair styling and hair perming have been most popular. Afghan women have lovely hair, and much care goes into its maintenance. A glance around confirms this. Here is a woman getting her hair cut, there another sitting under a huge hood drier, yet another awaiting her turn. But Sohaila also offers a range of other facilities like eye make-up, facial massage, steaming, pedicure and manicure.

Sohaila started her parlour three years ago on her return from Delhi where she had done a beauticians course at a Polytechnic. Earlier she had also done a similar one at Hamburg, West Germany. Returning to Afghanistan in 1984, she found herself at a loose end after being to full time occupation abroad. After consulting her husband and father, she decided it would be best to put her training to use. Why not start a beauty parlour, she had suggested hesitantly? She was sure they would have reservations, after all starting out on a new business venture without experience is a bold step. It means sinking in a large amount of capital into a project whose outcome is unknown. To Sohaila's surprise, they agreed at

once, and her father even helped out by gifting her nine lakh Afis to start her venture.

So she set out to procure her basic equipment — chairs, driers, rollers and cosmetics. Much of it she was able to get through friends who went abroad. She immediately hired her present premises at a rent of 7000 Afis a month. Electricity and water expenses are extra, and these also amount to a tidy sum as they are essential to her business.

How did she get her initial clientele, we ask. Setting up a shop is all very well, but what about customers? Largely it was by word of mouth, says Sohaila. She would tell her relatives and friends, and they in turn would pass the word around. "At first my clients were few", she says. But once they came, she built on them. This was facilitated by her outgoing, friendly disposition. Like doctors, a beautician also needs a pleasing manner and the ability to communicate with sympathy. She must also be able to assess and meet her customers' needs. "Each woman is an individual, with her own individual needs," Sohaila says. She feels it is her duty to counsel them as to what would be suitable. If a girl with a round face wants a short, rounded hair cut she politely suggests a longer style that would be more suitable to her facial type. Sohaila says her conscience does not permit her to do business for the sake of money alone.

Yet her business brings in a good income, Sohaila tells us. She nets 4000—5000 Afis a day after paying her helpers and meeting all other

costs like food, electricity and water charges. Business is so good that this enterprising lady now wants to expand by renting out the neighbouring shop as well. Then she says she will also be able to diversify her activities. She plans to do more of beauty counselling, and specialized chores like waxing. She will also have to employ more helpers. "I have been lucky in getting good honest girls", she says. "I do not have to worry about routine chores. Each girl has a key to the shop, and they take turns in coming early, opening the shop, and cleaning up the place." So also in the evenings, they stay late by rotation. Sohaila pays her girls 2,000 to 4,000 Afis a month, depending on their experience.

Sohaila and her team are busiest during the wedding season, which is either before Id-ul-Zuha or after Id-ul-Qurban. Recently she has also started stitching women's wedding dresses — white diaphanous gowns with elaborate trimmings and head gear. These she rents out for 1,500 Afis a day. During the busy season Sohaila and her girls work overtime and on Fridays as well.

Today Sohaila is well-established and there is no looking back. She has put in too much of time and money. It is entirely to her credit, for she is a self-made woman. She has overcome the vagaries of powercut by installing a generator, and has recently installed piped water supply into the shop. There is no economizing here, because both electricity and water are essential to her profession. They also enable her to maintain necessary levels of hygiene.

It is a warm homely environment that Sohaila has created for herself

cool, clean and relaxing. Soft music plays, a perfumed fragrance permeates the place, so that just stepping in seems therapy enough.

Rastogi

and her team. A place where there is companionship and friendliness, where women can let their delinquent down and be at ease. Indoors it is



During interview with our correspondent

# CHRONOLOGY

4/8 - The Economist - Polyamide, the material used by the artist Christo to wrap the Pont Neuf in Paris in the early 1980s, was later sewn into tents for Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

4/10 - KT - Dr Shah Wali was introduced to the Afghan Senate as a new Minister without portfolio. Senate members wished him success in achieving "the high goals of national reconciliation."

4/16 - BNA - Since the signing of the Geneva accords, 16,000 "young refugees have returned home, for 12,000 of whom the ground for work has been provided." 2,000 have joined the DYOA; 3,000 have "voluntarily joined the ranks of the armed forces"; 12,000 have become "soldiers of revolution" (a 195,000-member organization).

- A 100-truck convoy arrived in Kabul Friday over the Salang Highway.

4/17 - BNA - A plane with 13,500 kgs. of sugar, a gift from India, arrived in Kabul Friday. The flight was the 6th carrying Indian goods for Afghanistan.

4/18 - HK Standard - Gulbuddin, on tour to gather support for the interim gov't, met with Australia's foreign minister in Canberra & then flew off to China to meet with officials there.

- A Jordanian, captured in Fariab 4 months ago, was sentenced in Kabul to 16 years imprisonment for spying for the mujahideen.

4/19 - BNA - A 63-truck convoy, loaded with food & ammunition, reached "the embattled city" of Jalalabad from Kabul.

4/20 - HK Std - Sayyaf condemned Islamabad for agreeing to allow the UN to set up monitoring posts on the Pak-Af border.

- BNA - An int'l forum on the Afghan situation will take place in Cyprus  
Abdul Rahim Hatif will head the ROA delegation to the 2-day meeting.  
- The Executive Committee of the ROA Council of Ministers discussed how to calculate the losses of state properties by the "attacks & plunderings of the extremist



Abdul Rahim Hatif

forces in a number of provinces." The group also considered the complaints of Andkhoy [in Jauzjan] citizens who are having economic problems because of drought & the "cutting of water resources."

4/21 - BNA - A direct cooperation protocol between Leningrad & Herat was signed Monday. The document covers training of Afghan cadres, gratis delivery of food-stuffs, construction material & technical equipment.

4/22 - BNA - Rockets landing near the Kabul airport "caused remarkable material losses, but no one was killed or wounded."

4/26 - BNA - The ROA & the USSR signed a gratis aid agreement on hauling cargo from Hairatan to Kabul. The Soviets will give the ROA 500 Kamas trucks plus spare parts.

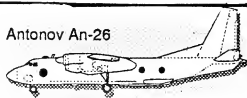
4/27 - BNA - On the 11th anniversary of the April Revolution, Najibullah pardoned a group of prisoners. According to Najibullah, "The most important achievement of the last 11 years is the growth of the armed forces of the ROA." Over 60% are PDPA members.

4/28 - Asiaweek - The mujahideen have formed a small general staff, with representatives from each of the 7 Peshawar parties, under the interim gov't's defense ministry, to develop a regular armed force. The staff is headed by Gen. Yahya Nauroz, a former Afghan Army officer. "The problems are technical rather than political," said Nauroz. "If we can establish an effective system of command, I'm sure the field commanders will take orders."

4/30 - BNA - The ICRC & the Afghan Red Crescent Society signed a cooperation protocol. ICRC is "duty bound" to fulfill the needs of 10 Red Crescent clinics in Kabul.

- Last year Ariana Airlines carried 6,607 pilgrims to Mecca, flew 466 repatriates home from abroad & over 6,000 to the provinces, carried over 246,000 regular passengers & 11,000 tons of freight.

Antonov An-26



(See p. 10)



5/1 - PT - Robert Oakley, US Amb. to Pakistan, categorically denied reports that the US & Pakistani gov'ts planned the mujahideen attacks on Jalalabad. He accused the USSR & Iran of trying to splinter Afghanistan. He also said that he felt that, as time passed, the interim gov't was gaining popularity. - SCMP - The Soviets have asked the US to help them trace the 313 Soviets

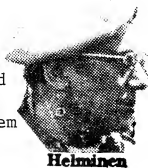


Vorontsov

missing in Afghanistan. Yuli Vorontsov, the Soviet Amb. in Kabul, said, "It's a problem that would cost the US nothing to help solve & would mean a great deal to us." The US has discussed POW exchange with the mujahideen & has said that there should be no "involuntary repatriation."

- BNA - Gen. Helminen, the UNGOMAP envoy in Kabul, has completed his term in Afghanistan.

- Sultan Ali Keshtmand called for financial discipline in the gov't. Problem areas seem to be overspending, lax tax collection, bad reporting & delays in transferring budgetary allotments.



Helminen

5/2 - LAT - ROA pilots have developed flying techniques which enable them to avoid Stinger missiles (see p.12).

- PT - Cdr. Abdul Rahim Wardak reported that the ROA has issued Soviet-made gas masks to its troops in Jalalabad.

- BNA - During the past 24 hours, extremists have attacked Nangarhar, Kandahar & Herat Provinces, as well as the Khost Grand District.

- Gulbuddin says he is now ready to lead a new military attack on Jalalabad.

- The USSR gave the ROA "1m dozen of cow poxes & 50,000 dozen of rabies vaccines."

5/3 - NYT - A committee of the Nat'l Security Council recommended that US Sec'y of State Baker resist Soviet demands to bring about a political settlement of the Afghan war when he

visits Moscow next week. The committee felt that the guerrillas should have more time to prove themselves before the US would make a substantial policy change.

At a meeting last week, the Policy Coordinating Committee of the National Security Council, composed of middle-level officials from the State Department and other agencies, reached this consensus:

¶ Secretary Baker should resist the expected Soviet demands for negotiations on Afghanistan, but should offer to exchange views and information with the Soviets.

¶ A political solution must come from the Afghans themselves and cannot be imposed or brokered by the superpower.

¶ Neither the United States Government nor the Afghan people want a power-sharing arrangement in which Mr. Najibullah or his party admits a few guerrilla representatives to the Kabul Government.

¶ If Moscow agrees that Mr. Najibullah must surrender power, then the United States and the guerrillas would be willing to discuss arrangements for a peaceful transfer of power. . . .

"The longer this drags on, the less tenable is the U.S.-Pakistan-Western policy in the eyes of the public," an Administration official said. "But at this time, I know of no desire inside the Administration to engage the Soviets in negotiations to bring about a settlement among the Afghan parties."

Another American official said: "We will monitor the situation closely to see how things play out. We are concerned but not alarmed about the future of the battle on the ground. At this point, we should not jump the gun and change the policy that was set in the first weeks of this Administration."

5/3 - SCMP - Najibullah said the ROA had reports that Pakistani troops, disguised as Afghans, might try to seize Jalalabad by night & retreat at dawn:

"They would say that Jalalabad was captured by the opposition (the Mujahideen), but their plans are now quite clear to us," Mr. Najibullah said.

He said the plan included Mujahideen guerrillas moving into Jalalabad at break of day to replace the Pakistani troops.

Asked by Western journalists whether they could visit Jalalabad, Mr. Najibullah said he was afraid the reaction of the local people when they learned their visitors were American or British "might be dangerous."

But he said he would arrange for a limited number to visit the city if they took "all responsibility and not just from rockets".

- BNA - Najibullah claimed that over 65,000 opposition leaders have laid down their arms or crossed over "to the side of the people's power." Negotiations are underway with other groups & protocols have been signed with a number of them. "This process will continue." (See 6/11)

5/4 - PT - The 8-party Shi'ite Iranian-based coalition has signed a 4-point agreement with the 7-party Peshawar alliance. The points were not specified but the groups apparently agree in principle on the composition of an interim gov't (see 5/23).

- SCMP - A British TV station reported that Britain, India & the USSR were involved in a foiled plot to return ex-King Zahir Shah to Afghanistan. Guerrillas prevented the ex-King's return by cutting off the Kandahar airport. All parties denied any knowledge of the plot.

5/5 - HK Std - The ROA has regained control of the Salang Highway which, until last month, was controlled by Massoud's forces.

- LAT - Obaidullah, an ROA military commander, defected to guerrillas in Helmand.

- PT - A Scud missile landed in the Bannu District near the Kharruba refugee camp, killing 2 refugees & injuring 14.

- Pres. Bush sent Eid-ul-Fitr greetings to Mojaaddadi.

- US congressional leaders moved yesterday to introduce legislation to require the Sec'y of State to certify that chemical weapons were not being used by the Soviets in Afghanistan. If such weapons are in use, the legislation will call for the US not to issue export licenses to companies involved in the development of natural resources in the USSR.

5/6 - PT - The ROA said it had never used chemical weapons & invited UN officials to carry out inspections.

- Indian Gov't officials say that Afghans in Kabul are offering bribes up to \$1,600 for Indian visas.

5/7 - BNA - Najibullah met with Gen Valantine Ivanovich, USSR Dep. Defense Minister & Gen'l Cdr. of Land Forces, yesterday in Kabul.

- Najibullah invited Yasir Arafat to visit Kabul: Arafat accepted. The date will be set later.

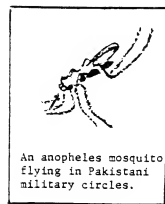
5/8 - NYT - John Burns reported that nomads arriving in Kabul said that guerrillas controlling the road to Kabul near Sarobi have imposed a toll of about \$36 for each adult. He also noted rumors in Kabul that a Scud-B missile missed its target & hit a school in Ghazni, killing 60 teenagers & wounding dozens of others.

5/9 - BNA - Nat'l Awami Party Chairman Abdul Wali Khan arrived in Kabul at the invitation of the PDPA. Also visiting Kabul was Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

5/10 - SCMP - Kabul claimed that ROA troops broke out of Jalalabad & advanced toward Torkham. The Afghan News Agency denied this saying that the ROA offensive had been repulsed.

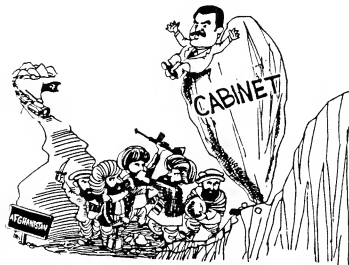
- BNA - Foreign journalists in Kabul were given a tour of Jalalabad (see 5/3).

5/11 - BNA - ROA health & security authorities reported that "Pakistani military circles have taken in hand introducing the causative agent of malaria disease in Jalalabad..."



5/13 - BNA - Abdul Wakil led an Afghan delegation to a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement foreign ministers in Zimbabwe. - The new law on elections to the Loya Jirgah has 7 chapters & 42 articles (see 5/15)

5/14 - NYT - The Afghan News Agency reported that about 30,000 guerrillas are massing for an attack on Kabul.



World Press Review 5/89

- BNA - The Saudi Ambassador in Delhi said that 2,000 Saudi citizens were fighting in Afghanistan & that 11 of them had been killed.

- On his way to Zimbabwe, Abdul Wakil stopped in Delhi to meet with Rajiv Gandhi & other Indian officials.

5/15 - PT - "Anonymous sources" in Kabul said that Brigade #50 of the Indian paratroopers was ready to be sent to the ROA. Also on deck is the #411 Indian military engineering company which specializes in "planting mines & making bridges."

- BNA - Najibullah announced plans to convene another Loya Jirgah to agree to continue the state of emergency. Electoral commissions have been set up; Abdul Rahim Hatif heads the 18-member Central Election Commission. Provincial Commissions are headed by the provincial governors & have 7 members.

- An import-export joint stock company to provide raw materials for handicraft production was established with a capital of Afs. 100m.

5/16 - HK Std - Nat'l Islamic Front (NIFA) guerrillas captured the Gulran District on the Herat-Torghundi Highway in Herat Province.

Gulran is the first district to have been fully captured by the rebels in Herat, the resistance sources said.

All other provincial districts are in the government hands.

Most of the 35,000 population, a majority of whom are members of the Ishaqzai tribe, did not flee the area despite nine years of fighting around Herat while Soviet troops were in the country. . . .

The capture will also help the shipment of arms to Herat through Mashhad, Iran, the sources said, adding that another highway

in the district of Kushk, 40 km east of Gulran, is now threatened.

The fall of Gulran to a moderate Mujahadeen group was seen by some diplomats as a significant development because the area was previously considered a stronghold of the fundamentalist Jamiat-i-Islami group.

If the NIFA guerrillas gain further ground it could curb the influence of the Jamiat's powerful commander Ismail Khan, who earlier refused the regime's offer of top government posts in exchange for a ceasefire, diplomats said.

5/18 - SCMP - The ROA said the guerrilla offensive had shifted to Khost.

5/19 - NYT - Donatella Lorch reported that the guerrillas remain in control of all the territory around Jalalabad that they captured in March, but that there are no indications of an all-out guerrilla attack.

Cdr. Haji Din 'Moh'd estimated that there are ca. 15,000 ROA troops in the area & about 5,000 guerrillas. - SCMP - The ROA recently built a road from Paghman to Kabul. The 50 km. path cuts through flat territory making it safer for trucks to pass through.

- BNA - The Jirgah agenda will include gov't measures for implementation of nat'l reconciliation, "revelation of the desperate efforts of Pakistan to aggravate the Afghan situation" & Pakistan's assertions of annexing Afghanistan, the "recognition of the Durand Line by the so-called Council of Rawalpindi" & the assessment of the ROA armed forces successes. Elections were held Wednesday. 10 representatives were elected from Jalalabad.



The New York Times/John Kifner  
Haji Din Mohammed, Afghan guerrilla leader, near Jalalabad.

5/20 - BNA - At the Jirgah, Najibullah proposed that a mediatory commission be formed to establish contacts & conduct talks with representatives of the opposition in Pakistan, Iran & Europe; with the ex-King, with field commanders, elders & tribal leaders.

5/21 - BNA - The Jirgah extended the state of emergency for 6 months. Each province elected 2 representatives to the mediatory commission.

5/23 - SCMP - Vorontsov met with the Afghan resistance coalition in Tehran. The Iran-based group doesn't want Najibullah included in a new regime but

Mr Vorontsov said rebel spokesman Alijan Zahedi opposed foreign interference and wanted an Afghan government composed of all groups, something the Soviets also sought.

"There is no communist party in Afghanistan. What

they have there is not even a Marxist party, but rather a nationalist party with nationalist interests . . . but they (the coalition) have not agreed with that composition in the future government of Iran," IRNA quoted Mr Vorontsov as saying.

5/24 - LA Signal - The ROA Parliament began a 2-month recess. Najibullah urged the members to promote peace by contacting the guerrilla commanders in their provinces during the break.

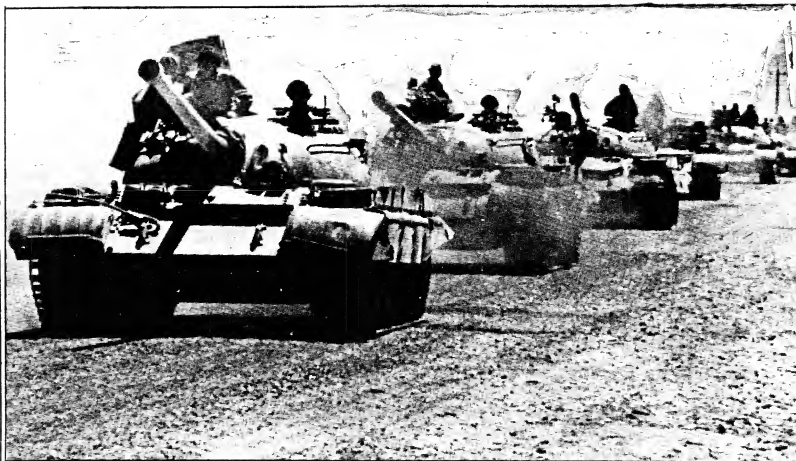
- NYT - John Burns reported that every day since early March, except when the Kabul airport was closed because of bad weather or guerrilla attacks, between 25 & 40 Soviet IL-76s, each carrying up to 45 metric tons of supplies, have flown into Kabul. The planes fly from Tashkent, Fergana, Merv & Chirchik. Weapons make up about 2/3 of the cargo.

Anti-Stinger flares, with temperatures over 5,000° fall to earth around Kabul & hundreds of people in the capital have been burned.

The Kremlin has ordered handsome pay for the airlift crews. According to Mr. Galayev, the normal Aeroflot pilot's salary is about 1,000 rubles a month, while the average Soviet salary is around 200 rubles a month. For the Kabul flights, the pilot's salary increases to 1,500 rubles a month, with a 300-ruble bonus for every landing in Kabul. With many pilots flying twice a day to the Afghan capital, 15 days a month, their monthly pay could rise as high as 10,500 rubles, equivalent at the official exchange rate to \$17,220. . . .

How long the aid will continue is likely to be influenced by many factors, including the Government's success in defending Jalalabad, the besieged city 80 miles east of Kabul, and the Bush Administration's response to continuing pressure for a cease-fire. But the effort is clearly a financial strain. It is less burdensome than the 5 billion rubles a year — \$8.2 billion at the official exchange rate — that Soviet economists say it cost the Kremlin to maintain more than 100,000 troops here. But, one Soviet official in Kabul estimated, the airlift is costing more than 300 million rubles a year, equivalent to more than \$490 million.

The Kremlin's order for flour for the airlift expires 6/1. The official in charge of the flour said he had received no new order to extend the deliveries, but that if one came, it would be filled.



An armoured column of Soviet-made T-54 tanks roll into Kabul after the long trip down the Salang Highway

5/25 - HK Std - The Soviets sent a huge convoy of T-62 & T-54 tanks & armored personnel carriers to Kabul. A long line of fuel trucks accompanied the vehicles.

- CSM - In an article on "Communist-Bloc 'Civil Servants' at the UN," Rossen Vassilev wrote that a Bulgarian Secretariat official, on instructions from his gov't, sat on a report by a UN expert detailing Soviet atrocities in Afghanistan. For his services, the individual was rewarded with an ambassadorship.

5/26 - PT - At a "big meeting of the Afghan people inside Afghanistan who had come from far -off places to meet him," Gulbuddin asked the Najib regime to surrender immediately.

- NYT - Benazir Bhutto dismissed Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, head of the Inter Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI), who controlled the flow of US aid to the Afghan guerrillas. He was replaced by retired Gen. Shamsur Rahman Kallu, described by a Western diplomat as a "real straight arrow."

5/27 - SCMP - Kabul on the sacking of ISI chief Hamid Gul:

Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman Nabi Amani said: "There are two assumptions. One is based on common sense: Pakistan is not continuing a military option.

"The other is that after the failure in his plans and attacks on Jalalabad and Khost, he will be replaced by a more competent man."

General Gul's departure was the second recent cause for satisfaction in Kabul, after a reported disavowal as "a return to royalism" by about 100 Mujahideen field commanders inside Afghanistan of the resistance's interim Government under moderate leader Sibgatullah Mojaddedi.

5/27 - NYT - According to Administration officials, Pres. Bush is expected to remove the economic sanctions imposed by the Carter Administration on the USSR after it invaded Afghanistan 10 years ago. The issue has prompted disagreement between the State Dept., which has pushed for the change, & the Defense Dept., which objected.

5/28 - BNA - Investment projects approved by the Council of Ministers include a metal-producing factory with a production capacity of 40,000 tons annually; "construction, garment, carpet-washing, technical services & foodstuffs projects" to be erected in Herat, Ghazni, Balkh, Kunduz, Baghlan Provinces & in Kabul City.

5/29 - PT -

PESHAWAR - More than 100 exiled Afghan legal experts gathered in Peshawar on May 23 to elect officers for the newly formed Lawyers' Association of Free Afghanistan.

In an interview with the Afghan News Agency, the President of the association, Mr. Sabit, said the lawyers' association intended to cooperate with the resistance interim government in drafting new laws for post-war Afghanistan. The group expected more than 450 laws formulated over the past 10 years by the communist regime in Kabul would be abolished.

In its founding charter, the association called on Afghan Judges, lawyers, and professors of law to participate in the reconstruction of Afghanistan by helping to draft necessary regulations.

The association would also use its expertise to monitor human

rights in Afghanistan, and to investigate and collect records of human rights violations during the period of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

A former legal adviser to the Ministry of Justice in the pre-communist Afghan government, Abdul Jabar Sabit has been elected President of the new organization.

On May 23, the group also elected Professor Naimatullah Shahrani and former Public Prosecutor Rezwan Mohammad as the Vice-President and Secretary of the association respectively.

According to Mr. Sabit, the main goal of the lawyers' association would be to reverse the Sovietization of the current Afghan legal system. In keeping with its broader goals, the association would also work to promote peace in the region and the world by establishing relations with other anti-communist forces in the country.

- BNA - The 1st Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Peace Award went to Mikhail Gorbachev. Other nominees were Najibullah, Rajiv Gandhi, Robert Mugabe, Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela & Yasser Arafat.

- "The Wahabis have established a dormitory in Kunar Prov. where slave women are kept.

When they return from the war fronts, they entertain themselves there."

5/30 - HK Std - Guerrilla groups in Iran & Pakistan have failed to agree on representation for the Shi'ite groups in the interim gov't. However, both sides have agreed to form a 6-member commission to serve as a mediator. The commission will meet alternately in Peshawar & Tehran. Talks began in Peshawar on 5/19. (See 5/4)

- NYT - The ROA reported a new guerrilla attack on Jalalabad was repulsed. The ROA said it had 18,000 troops in the area, the guerrillas 22,000. (See 5/19)  
- BNA - The Partisan's Solidarity Committee of France donated over \$25,661 to the "victims of Jalalabad City."

- Najibullah again called on Afghans living abroad to come home. He said that since the Soviets have gone, "The Pakistanis & the 7 alliance have brought you the Wahabis" who want to "disintegrate your religion." Najibullah went on:

"The presence of the Soviets was a great pretext til lately & now that a single Soviet soldier does not exist, why don't they let you return to your country? The opposition groups say that if you return to Afghanistan the mines planted on your way would kill you. All these utterances are false as you heard in these days that Radio Pakistan announced that 50,000 other persons escaped to Pakistan from Jalalabad & other provinces. Why did these mines not hurt the people who fled to Pakistan?"

5/31 - BNA - The USSR gave the ROA 7 tons of "biological material as well as various animal vaccines." A 400 kw. power station was inaugurated at the Badan Bagh poultry farm. The Afs. 11,250,000 cost came from the state development budget. (See 5/2)

6/1 - PT - Hujatul-Islam Ali Jan Zahidi, a spokesman for the Tehran-based 8-party Shi'ite alliance, called for free elections in Afghanistan to take place after the ending of US & Soviet intervention, the

fall of the present Afghan regime & the dissolution of the PDPA.

- SCMP - Refugees are returning to guerrilla held areas in southern Afghanistan at a rate of up to 1,500/day.

One Afghan rebel source in Pakistan said guerrillas had tried to stop refugees using the main border crossing between Kandahar and Quetta in western Pakistan. So the returnees used a network of small

tracks criss-crossing the frontier."

The refugees were going to Helmand, Kandahar and Zabul provinces, in each of which the Soviet-backed Government holds the capital and the guerrillas operate in the countryside.

6/2 - PT - Mujahideen have captured 13 ROA posts around Jalalabad.

6/7 - PT - Mujahideen & Soviets met in Islamabad to discuss POWs. The Mujahideen say that over 40,000 Afghans are missing; they do not agree with the claim of 313 Soviet prisoners; they want the prisoner exchange to take place all at once, not piecemeal. (See p. 10)

- NYT - At their meeting in Washington, George Bush & Benazir Bhutto agreed that the US would continue to aid the Afghan guerrillas while continuing to search for a political solution:

"Prime Minister Bhutto and I discussed ways to encourage a political solution in Afghanistan that will lead to a nonaligned, representative government willing to live in peace with its neighbors, to replace the illegitimate regime in Kabul," Mr. Bush said. "The United States and Pakistan will continue to explore any serious avenue toward this end."

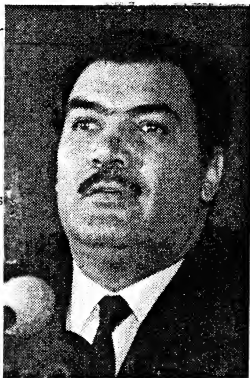
Mr. Bush told Ms. Bhutto that the United States is willing "to explore any serious avenue" to achieve a political solution in Afghanistan.

And Ms. Bhutto said after private talks with the President that "we are in complete accord" on the situation in Afghanistan, which has been stale-mated since the withdrawal of the last Soviet troops in February.

While the two leaders seemed to have an identical assessment of the situation in Afghanistan, the virtual military stalemate between the pro-Soviet forces of President Najibullah and the insurgents seeking to topple him has compelled both Pakistan and the United States to ponder whether other solutions should be sought.

Ms. Bhutto is particularly concerned that Pakistan should be relieved of the burden posed by the 3.6 million Afghan refugees on its territory. Mr. Bush is now being told by members of Congress that merely continuing to arm the guerrillas is not an adequate policy.

While Mr. Bush said the withdrawal of the Soviet forces had proven the effectiveness of the American and Pakistani support for the Afghan guerrillas, he added, "We agreed, however, that the job is not done."



The New York Times/Philip Taubman  
President Najibullah



Benazir Bhutto

6/8 - NYT - Benazir Bhutto urged the US to try to persuade the Soviets to accept the departure of Najibullah which, the Pakistanis feel, would open the way for negotiating a political settlement.

6/9 - NYT - Najibullah welcomed Bush's willingness to seek a political settlement but said that the demand for his removal was "unrealistic."

6/10 - PT - Six US universities will offer engineering courses for Afghans in Peshawar. The consortium, headed by Edward Friedman of Stevens Inst. of Technology, will cooperate with an existing program run by the Int'l Rescue Committee. The other group members are Catholic U., U. of Cincinnati, U. of Wyoming, Colorado State U. & the U. of Nebraska.  
- Mujahideen destroyed 6 ROA helicopters & an oil station at the Kandahar airport. on 6/6.

6/11 - PT - Mujahideen call the charge that their commanders have contacted Kabul (see 5/3) "baseless propaganda."  
- UN agencies, forced to curtail some activities in Afghanistan after the Soviet troop withdrawal, are gradually stepping them up amid improved security. "Operation Salam" will set up small offices in Mazar-i-Sharif & Hairatan to coordinate the shipping of relief supplies by private contractors.  
- Gulbuddin said the mujahideen have asked Kandahar residents to vacate the city in anticipation of a big offensive.

- LAT - Zulfikar Ali Khan will become Pakistan's Ambassador to the US in July:

Zulfikar speculated that a new interim government now could even include members of the ruling, pro-Moscow People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, providing the party itself is removed, along with Afghanistan's Soviet-backed President Najibullah.

"Whatever they might say about Marxism and Leninism, they have a very strong sense of nationhood in them first and foremost," he said of the party. "And if they think there's a chance of setting up a truly popular government, they might just say, 'For the sake of Afghanistan, enough . . . bloodshed.'"

"For us, it is a very, very major problem, because what happens if there is a [worsening] civil war there? There will be a huge new influx of refugees. And no one is prepared to handle that."

Pakistan already is suffering under the weight of 3.5 million Afghan refugees, who have crossed Afghanistan's eastern border since the Soviet invasion in 1979, and the Pakistani government is deeply concerned about "compassion fatigue," which it fears will greatly reduce the international refugee aid coming into Pakistan.

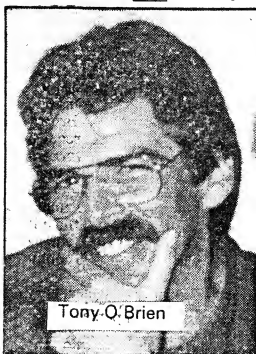
Zulfikar conceded, however, that the new political approach to Afghanistan is likely to be met with resentment among the fundamentalists who now dominate the rebel alliance, which was forged largely by the United States and Pakistan years ago as a conduit for arms and humanitarian aid.

"Their voice won't be as strong as it is today," he said. "But they also have to realize just how urgent this problem really is."

6/18 - LA Daily News - ROA troops captured Khushgumbad which they say has an important airport. Khushgumbad is 20 miles east of Jalalabad.

6/19 - Asbury Park Press - Gunmen seized an Afghan airliner yesterday, forcing the plane down near Zabol, Iran. According to some reports, the plane crashed when the pilot tried to land it while struggling with 3 armed hijackers. Four people were killed & 34 injured.

6/20 - LAT - Tony O'Brien, a photographer working for Time-Life, was captured in Kabul by the ROA.



6/22 - NYT - The US asked the ROA for O'Brien's release but Kabul wants a US Gov't official to come to Kabul to negotiate for the release.  
- The ROA claimed that its troops had broken the siege of Jalalabad. The US & the mujahideen denied the claim.

6/25 - NYT - At long last the FBI has sent agents to Pakistan to investigate the plane crash that killed Zia.

Robert B. Oakley, who is now the American Ambassador to Pakistan, said top Federal officials met at the White House on the day of the crash. But, he said, "it didn't occur to anyone" to send criminal investigators to the site. "That certainly was a mistake on my part," Mr. Oakley said. In August 1988 he was on the staff of the National Security Council, supervising Near East and South Asian affairs.

6/25 - LAT - Yasser Arafat met with Gulbuddin in Islamabad & offered to mediate a solution to the Afghan war. Gulbuddin said the interim gov't would vote on the offer.

6/26 - LAT - Najibullah appointed Mahmood Baryalai, the 1/2-brother of Babrak [remember him?], as First Deputy Prime Minister of the ROA. In Moscow, ROA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil talked with Shevardnadze about an Afghan settlement, including holding an int'l conference with the US, USSR, Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan as participants.



- The ROA will allow a US Gov't official to go to Kabul to see Tony O'Brien (see 6/20).

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM

## CONTENTS

July 1989



**VOL. XVII**

**NO. 4**

News Stories	Pages
Chronology.....	3- 9
Items from <u>The Pakistan Times</u> .....	10-11
Clippings.....	12-21
Items from <u>The Kabul Times</u> .....	37
Events.....	1
Organizations.....	2
Footnotes to History.....	22-23
Nature.....	24
Education in the ROA.....	25-26
Restaurants and Food.....	27-30
People.....	30-31
Doctoral Dissertations.....	32
Recent Publications.....	32-33
Book Reviews.....	34-36
Almas Beauty Parlor.....	38

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	-	Afghan Information Centre	<u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	-	<u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>	
BIA	-	Bakhtar Information Agency	
CC	-	Central Committee	
CSM	-	Christian Science Monitor	
DYOA	-	Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan	
FRG	-	Federal Republic of Germany	
GDR	-	German Democratic Republic	
ICRC	-	Int'l Committee of the Red Cross	
KT	-	Kabul Times	
LAT	-	Los Angeles Times	
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization	
NWFP	-	Northwest Frontier Province	
NYT	-	New York Times	
OIC	-	Organization of Islamic Conference	
PDPA	-	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan	
PSFO	-	Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization	
PT	-	Pakistan Times	
PVO	-	Private Voluntary Organization	
RC	-	Revolutionary Council	
RTV	-	Refugee Tent Village	
SCMP	-	South China Morning Post	
UNGA	-	United Nations General Assembly	
UNGOMAP	-	United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan	
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commission for Refugees	
WSJ	-	Wall Street Journal	

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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